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1. Euripides. Ion

2. " . Bacchae

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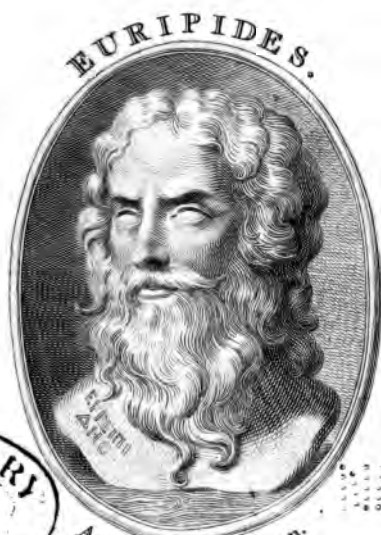


ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF  
EURIPIDES,  
ON  
THE ION AND THE BACCHÆ.

BY  
RICHARD PAUL JODRELL, ESQ. F.R.S.

*O Poema tenerum et moratum atque molle!*

CICERO.



Apud Fulvium Urbinum.  
H. Sherwin Sculp

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## P R E F A C E.

THE contemplation of a Græcian Drama under every point of view constitutes the design of these Illustrations. The Preliminary Essay discusses the History, Mythology, Laws, and Customs, on which the Fable is founded, and is intended to prepare the mind of the Reader by connecting several observations, which would obtrude on his attention with more inconvenience, if they were separately dispersed. The Intermediate Notes arise from the passage, to which they refer in the Original and English Translation by substituting the different texts, and are consequently very miscellaneous in the several objects of their critical inquiry. As the Author was not limited in the narrow boundary of an Editor's or Translator's page, he has often indulged himself with the full investigation of the subject, when the nature of it has been interesting enough, or the materials sufficiently copious to require it. The Final Essay contains an analysis of the several beauties and defects of the Drama, considered under the constituent parts of its Plot, Characters, Sentiments, and Language : It traces the delicate  
a connexion



connexion of the Choral Odes, that important and beautiful part of an ancient Tragedy, and illustrates the History of the Græcian Theatre in a new and comprehensive mode of Criticism : It also extends its inquiry to the more modern Plays on the same subject, which have been represented on the Roman, Italian, French, and English stages. The few Annotations, which follow this Final Essay, are only calculated for the attentive Reader of the Original, as they chiefly relate to the Greek Text, and therefore the translation of the lines, to which they refer, has been omitted. It remains to inform the Publick, why the two plays of the *Ion* and *Bacchæ* were here selected by the Author for the particular purpose of these Illustrations : And this circumstance arose from the communication by the English Translator of his intention to publish his poetical version of Euripides with a view to the chronological æra of the several dramas and not according to the printed form of the Greek Editions in the same manner as he had formerly done *Æschylus* : His original design therefore was to have followed that series of chronology, delineated by the *Pere Brumoy*\*, who has given the precedence to the *Ion* : On this information and authority the Commentator began to employ his attention on this particular Drama, as the first object, and had nearly completed his remarks upon it before he discovered the

\* *Théâtre des Grecs*, tom. 4. p. 93. Ed. 1732.

error in the calculation of the French Critick, and found that the Tragedy of the Bacchæ was in point of æra antecedent to the Ion<sup>2</sup>: But he would not have been able to have accomplished the publication of this book by the time, in which he understood, that the English Translator intended to produce his first volume, if he had not begun to commit to the Press his observations on the Ion, while he was employed in collecting and arranging the materials for the Bacchæ: And in his judgment the æra of chronology of the Græcian Dramas in regard to the contemplation of the Modern Reader is a matter of the most trifling consideration, When the author engaged originally in the attempt, he was not aware of the extended field of Criticism, which gradually expanded itself to his view; And his design was to have prefixed to this volume the life of Euripides, but neither the space of his work nor the time of performance would permit the execution of this idea<sup>3</sup>: If he should be flattered by any success, attending these Illustrations, to pursue this Plan of dramatick inquiry on other Plays of this Græcian Poet, the his-

<sup>2</sup> See my Notes No. 1. on v. 192 of the Ion, p. 87. & No. 1. on v. 2. of the Bacchæ, p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> These Illustrations were intended to form One Volume, and therefore the number of the pages has been continued; but a second frontispiece was afterwards added on the completion of the Work to enable the book to be bound with more convenience to the Reader.

tory of his life will become the first object of attention : But if this event should not happen, the commentary on these detached Plays may be considered an entire work, as far as it extends, and may suggest perhaps to some abler Writer the great idea of accomplishing an History of the Græcian Theatre on an enlarged plan, of which the Pere Brumoy has only furnished an elegant abridgment in miniature. With respect to the performance, now humbly submitted to the Publick, the Author concludes by borrowing the following remark from Quintilian<sup>4</sup> : In cæteris enim admiscere tentavimus aliquid nitoris, non jactandi ingenii gratiâ (namque in id eligi materia poterat uberior) sed ut hoc ipso alliceremus magis juventutem ad cognitionem eorum, quæ necessaria studiis arbitramur, si ducti jucunditate aliquâ lectionis libentius discerent ea, quorum ne jejuna atque arida traditio averteret animos, & aures præsertim tam delicatas raderet, verebamus.

<sup>4</sup> Inst: Orat: l. 3. c. 1. p. 211. Ed. Burman.

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# DRAMATICK ILLUSTRATIONS

O F

## T H E I O N.

Pianta così, che pare  
Estinta, inaridita,  
Torna piu bella in vita  
Talvolta à germogliar ;  
Face così talora,  
Che par che manchi, e mora,  
Di maggior lume adorna,  
Ritorna à scintillar.

(Metastasio, Gioas, A. 1. S. 1.)

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## I O N.

## PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

**T**HE most superficial reader of the romantick fables of Pagan antiquity must have been often shocked with those terrestrial crimes, which credulous men have imputed to their visionary gods. As most of these, if not all of them, were originally mortals, whom human adulation had exalted and deified, they translated not only their virtues, which alone gave them pretensions to this elevation, but also their vices into heaven. These were supposed to adhere to them even in this new state, and were fabulously represented to have been often repeated. It is no wonder if in the number of these gallantry became a favourite amusement with enamoured Deities, who were the subject slaves of human passions: hence every Heathen God in the Pantheon was metamorphosed into a celestial knight-errant, who descended from the palace of Pagan Heaven to visit his humble mistress on earth. When

this polite tenet had been once established in the antient code of superstition, the women would naturally support an error which paid so flattering a compliment to their own vanity: every Græcian virgin of superior rank and transcendent charms could attribute her pregnancy from the voluntary embrace of a mortal lover to the irresistible influence of an enraptured God:

'Hail, happy nymph! no vulgar births are ow'd  
To the prolific raptures of a God.

POPE, *Od. b. XI. v. 298.*

Hence, in the fashionable calendar of antiquity, the number of harlots thus distinguished was by no means inconsiderable. The heroine of this play, Creusa, was honoured with the addresses of Apollo in the cave of Macrai near the citadel of Athens. She was a princess of the most illustrious descent; whose pedigree we must trace to understand several allusions in the drama. Her grandfire Erichthonius (if we reckon from Cecrops) was the fourth king of Athens; and he was distinguished with the honourable appellation of earthborn; the cause of which epithet was founded on the monstrous extravagance of Pagan Mythology; for in the language of Ovid he was fabled,

"The son of Vulcan, without <sup>2</sup> mother born."

MET. l. II. v. 576.

Yet

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπει δὲ ἀποφύλιος εὐνῇ

Ἀθανάτων (Hom. *Odyss.* l. XI. v. 249.

<sup>2</sup> This ridiculous story, too indelicate to be here inserted, may be seen in Apollodorus (*Bibl. l. III. c. xiii. sect. 6.*) in Hyginus (*Fab. 166.*) and in Lucian (*Deor. Dial. 8. vol. I.*) But I entirely assent to the remark of Eustathius on *Homer* in the passage cited in my next note, that the whole story

Yet Homer seems to have applied this circumstance, related of Erichthonius, to his grandson Erechtheus,

That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid ;  
But from the teeming furrow took his birth,  
The mighty offspring of the foodful earth.

POPE. II. B. II<sup>3</sup>. v. 660.

Immediately after his birth, the infant was consigned by Minerva<sup>4</sup> to the virgin daughters of Cecrops and his wife Agraulos, with a strict prohibition not to open the casket in which he was contained : but these virgins violated this divine injunction<sup>5</sup>, and afflicted with madness, as a punishment for their criminal curiosity, they dashed themselves against a rock<sup>6</sup>. At the time when Minerva committed to them the custody of Erichthonius, she delivered two serpents,

story should be consigned to silence, and buried in oblivion, *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σιωπῆν, καὶ ὁλέον κατασαντῆσαι τῇ γῇ*. According to Tzetzes, in his Commentary upon Lycophron, Minerva, or Belonica, daughter of Bronteus, was a queen, and married to Vulcan, father of Erichthonius, by her. (See Meursius de Reg. Attic. l. I. c. 14. and l. II. c. 1.)

<sup>3</sup> Eutathius, in his Comment on this passage, remarks, that some asserted this identity of persons in Erechtheus and Erichthonius *ἓν ἐστι τὸ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἐρεχθίδιον φασίν*. (Il. II. v. 548. ed. Basil. 1560.) and other corresponding instances may be seen in Meursius (De Reg. Athen. l. II. c. 1.) Sir Isaac Newton also, in his Chronology, unites these different characters, (p. 143. ed. 1728.) but, according to the most acknowledged testimony, and the antient records of Græcian history, they were distinct monarchs, as mentioned in this play of Euripides.

<sup>4</sup> V. 21. Thus Ovid,

Nam tempore quodam  
Pallas Erichthonium, prolem sine matre creatam,  
Clauserat Aëteo textâ de vimine cistâ ;  
Virginibusque tribus gemino de Cecrope natis  
Hanc legem dederat, sua ne secreta viderent.

(Met. l. II. v. 552.)

<sup>5</sup> V. 273.

<sup>6</sup> V. 274. See also Pausanias Att. l. I. c. 18. and Apollod. Bibliot. l. III.



as guardians of his body<sup>7</sup>: Hence it became a custom to place golden serpents in the cradles of his descendents<sup>8</sup>, which they used to wear also as necklaces<sup>9</sup>; and we may fairly collect, that for this reason the statue of Minerva, in the temple of Erechtheus at Athens was attended by these *οἰκσποὶ ὄφεις*, or tutelary serpents, mentioned by Apollodorus<sup>10</sup>: For Pausanias<sup>11</sup> asserts, that at the bottom of a spear, in the hand of a statue of Minerva, there was a serpent, which signified Erichthonius: There are three figures of the Minerve Poliade, or the Guardian of the City, with the serpent marching before her, engraved in Montfaucon<sup>12</sup>, which I conceive to allude to the same symbol of her protection. As no mention is made of Pandion, the fifth king of Athens, in this play, we shall pass to the sixth king, Erechtheus, grandson of Erichthonius, and father of Creusa. This monarch was distinguished for the patriotick sacrifice of his virgin daughters, who were royal victims for their country<sup>13</sup>: This exalted act of antient heroism was eminently extolled both by the Greeks and Romans: Euripides composed a play on the subject, entitled Erechtheus, of which several lines are still preserved; and for furnishing so excellent an example of animating virtue to the minds of his countrymen, he is applauded by the orator Lycurgus<sup>14</sup>, who thus relates the

<sup>7</sup> V. 23, & 1429. Thus Ovid,

At intus

Infantemque vident apporrectumque Draconem.

Met. l. II. v. 561.

<sup>8</sup> V. 25, & 1429.

<sup>9</sup> V. 1431.

<sup>10</sup> Bibliot. l. III. See also Hesychius (vox *Οἰκερὸς*.)

<sup>11</sup> Attic. l. I. c. 24.

<sup>12</sup> One may be seen in his *Antiquité Expliquée*, Tom. I. l. III. c. 10. Pl. 81. and the other two in his *Supplement*, Tom. I. c. 7. Pl. 39.

<sup>13</sup> V. 278.

<sup>14</sup> Contra Leocratem.

Orat. Græc. ed. Reiske. Vol. IV. Par. II. p. 202.

story :

story: "When <sup>15</sup> Eumolpus with a formidable Thracian army  
 " was advancing to the walls of Athens, Erechtheus, con-  
 " sulting the oracle of Delphi on the means of victory, re-  
 " ceived for answer, that, if he sacrificed a daughter before  
 " the engagement of the armies, he would be superior to the  
 " enemy: he complied, and conquered <sup>16</sup>." But after this  
 event, Neptune, being enraged for the loss of his son Eu-  
 molpus, smote Erechtheus with his trident <sup>17</sup>; and he died,  
 swallowed by an earthquake, according to Apollodorus <sup>18</sup>  
 and Euripides <sup>19</sup>: But Hyginus <sup>20</sup> asserts, that he was struck  
 at the intercession of Neptune with lightning by Jupiter;  
 and that the sacrifice of his daughter was subsequent to the  
 victory over Eumolpus, as an atonement to the God. After his  
 death he was held in the highest veneration by the grateful  
 Athenians; divine honours were paid to him, and a temple  
 erected to his memory, which Cicero <sup>21</sup> mentions to have

<sup>15</sup> This war of Eumolpus is mentioned by our poet, in his *Phœnissæ*  
 (V. 861.) and the Scholiast there assigns for the reason of it the revenge of  
 Neptune, who being vanquished in his contest for Attica by Minerva by  
 means of the olive tree, excited his own son against the Athenians.

<sup>16</sup> Pausanias mentions two large statues of brass at Athens, representing  
 men engaged in a fighting posture, one called Erechtheus, and the other Eu-  
 molpus; but he adds, that none of the Athenians, acquainted with antiquity,  
 were ignorant that it was Imaradus, son of Eumolpus, who was killed by  
 Erechtheus. (Att. l. I. c. 27. See also l. I. c. 5 & 29.)

<sup>17</sup> V. 280. <sup>18</sup> L. III. c. 14. sect. 3. <sup>19</sup> V. 283. <sup>20</sup> Fab. 46.

<sup>21</sup> Sed si sunt hi Dii, est certe Erechtheus, cujus Athenis et delubrum  
 vidimus et sacerdotem. (De Nat. Deor. l. III. c. 19. To this Minerva in  
 the *Odyssey* retires,

Δῶνι δ' Ἐρεχθίδος πυκινὸν δόμον. (L. VII. v. 81.)

And to Erechtheus' sacred dome retreats.

(Pope, B. VII. v. 106.)

This temple Herodotus informs us (l. VIII. c. 55.) was in the Acropolis  
 of Athens: And Sir George Wheeler relates, that among the buildings and  
 ruins on the north side of the temple of Minerva he came to the temple of  
 Erechtheus: It is known to be that by two marks out of Pausanias. (*Travels*  
*into Greece*. B. V. p. 364.)

seen at Athens; and he observes, that both he and his daughters were included in the number of the divinities<sup>22</sup>. These were peculiarly honoured and immortalized under the emphatick appellation of “Παρθέναι”<sup>23</sup> the Virgins.” Creusa owed her preservation to her infancy; for she was then a child in her mother’s arms<sup>24</sup>; and, according to our poet, was the sole heiress and the only surviving progeny of this ancient and adored family. When she perceived the natural consequences of her connexion with Apollo, apprehensive of the ignominy of a discovery<sup>25</sup>, she exposed her illegitimate infant in the same cave of Macrai, where she was compressed and delivered<sup>26</sup>: This was a place consecrated to Pan<sup>27</sup>, and often used by the Athenian Damsels for the same purpose<sup>28</sup>, as we may collect from the expression of the chorus. The horrid custom of abandoning infants, which recoils with so much vehemence against human nature, and overthrows that fine sentiment of the *στοργή*, or parental affection, was practised to their everlasting infamy by the Græcian<sup>29</sup> States, the Thebans alone excepted. This babe of Creusa, who is the Ion of the play, was left in a little casket<sup>30</sup>, and enveloped in a robe of his mother’s curious embroidery<sup>31</sup>; in the centre of which was inter-

<sup>22</sup> Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erechtheus Athenis filiaque ejus in numero Deorum sunt. (De Nat. Deor. l. III. c. 19.)

<sup>23</sup> V. 278.

<sup>24</sup> V. 280.

<sup>25</sup> V. 893 & 1498.

<sup>26</sup> V. 949.

<sup>27</sup> V. 492 & 938.

<sup>28</sup> V. 502.

<sup>29</sup> Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus, informs us, that among the Spartans the father had not a discretionary power to educate his infant; but was obliged to carry it to the place of assembly, where the most antient of his tribe examined the child; and if he were strong and well-built they ordered him to be educated, and assigned him a portion: if weak and ill-shaped, they plunged him into a repository near mount Taygetus. (Ed. Bryan, Vol. I, p. 106.)

<sup>30</sup> V. 19. 26. 1398. 1412.

<sup>31</sup> V. 1417. 1425. 1491.

woven a gorgon <sup>32</sup>, and it was clasped, like an ægis, with serpents <sup>33</sup>. She also adorned it with all the trinkets which she was then enabled to bestow <sup>34</sup>; and besides the golden serpents, in conformity with the established custom of her family <sup>35</sup>, a chaplet of the consecrated olive of Minerva was annexed to the infant <sup>36</sup>. These little pledges of affection enabled the parents to discover their own offspring, if by chance it were rescued from death, and preserved by the humanity of a stranger; But policy also annexed superstition in this respect to the generous instinct of nature; for when Creusa bestowed these ornaments on her babe, she did it, as he was near death <sup>37</sup> in her apprehension. Thus Sotrata in Terence ordered her ring to be exposed with her daughter,

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis

(HEAUT. A. 4. S. 1.)

“That in case of her death, she might have part of their “possessions.” After this event, Creusa concluded, that the infant perished <sup>38</sup>, destroyed by some beast or bird of prey: but Apollo, his father, preserved him; and desired Mercury to transport him with all his appendages from the cave of Macrai near Athens to the vestibule of his temple at Delphi. Here the young Ion was soon discovered by the prophets <sup>39</sup>, and educated by her, under the immediate protection of his tutelary fire. When advanced to manhood <sup>40</sup>, he was appointed treasurer of the temple <sup>41</sup>; but his more

<sup>32</sup> V. 1421.

<sup>36</sup> V. 1433.

<sup>39</sup> V. 42.

<sup>33</sup> V. 1423.

<sup>37</sup> Ως θανόμενος. (v. 27).

<sup>40</sup> V. 53.

<sup>34</sup> V. 26.

<sup>41</sup> V. 54.

<sup>35</sup> V. 25 & 1427.

<sup>38</sup> V. 1500.

immediate employment in the play, as he himself tells us, is to guard the shrine externally <sup>42</sup>; and his business consists in adorning with the sacred laurel the avenues <sup>43</sup>, in sprinkling them with holy water <sup>44</sup>, and in sweeping the consecrated pavement <sup>45</sup>. That this last was an honourable office appears from Plato <sup>46</sup>, who in his sixth book of laws mentions the *Νεώροπος*, or sweeper of the temple, immediately after the priests and priestesses. Besides it was adapted to the tender years of Ion, and artfully contrived by the Poet, who thus introduces him immediately to the Chorus and Creusa, on their first arrival at Delphi, as he attended the vestibule, and was consequently the first object of conversation, which presented itself to strangers <sup>47</sup>. This royal foundling is represented in the play as a youth of consummate beauty, in the first blossom of manhood <sup>48</sup>, and of the most captivating form; he is elegantly attired <sup>49</sup>, and his head is adorned with the laurelled chaplets of the God <sup>50</sup>; he is armed, like an archer, with his bow and arrow <sup>51</sup>; with which, in the second scene, where he is first introduced, he threatens to shoot the birds, lest they should pollute the sacred purity of the Delphick shrine <sup>52</sup>. In regard to his moral and dramatick character, it is the most religious, virtuous, amiable, and tender, which poetry ever combined, and which I shall develop in my final essay, when the reader has received the pleasure arising from the original contemplation of it: At present I must proceed in the poetical narrative. Creusa, having thus escaped

<sup>42</sup> V. 414.<sup>43</sup> V. 79 & 104.<sup>44</sup> V. 134. 146. & 436.<sup>45</sup> V. 121. & 796.<sup>46</sup> Ed. Serran. Vol. II. p. 759.<sup>47</sup> V. 111. & 640.<sup>48</sup> V. 354 & 780.<sup>49</sup> V. 326.<sup>50</sup> V. 522.<sup>51</sup> V. 108. 158. 165. & 524.<sup>52</sup> V. 107 & 177.

discovery

discovery by the exposure of her infant, afterwards married Xuthus, son of Æolus<sup>53</sup>, an Achæan; who, having assisted the Athenians, engaged in a war with the inhabitants of Euboean Chalcis<sup>54</sup>, bordering on Athens<sup>55</sup>, and having defeated the enemy in concert with them<sup>56</sup> was honoured with the daughter of Erechtheus, as a reward for his distinguished services<sup>57</sup>. This was a very extraordinary compliment; for the Athenians, proud of their own ancestry, were extremely attached to their native blood, and jealous to the last degree of the least connexion of intermarriage with foreigners. Our poet therefore, in the mouth of Ion, demands of Creusa,

How weds a stranger an Athenian born?

(Potter, V. 285.)

Her reply states, that she was considered as the dowry of war, and the meed of the spear<sup>58</sup>. Thus the poet disarms the objection, which would arise from the law<sup>59</sup> of Athens, where, if a foreigner married with a citizen, he was liable to be accused before the *Thesmothetæ*, or Judges, and the offender, if convicted, was to be sold, and the third part of his substance was given to the accuser: and by the

<sup>53</sup> V. 63 & 292. Pausanias calls this Xuthus the son of Hellen, (l. VII. c. 1.); so that Archbishop Potter is mistaken, when he cites him as calling Xuthus the son of Deucalion. (Archæol. b: I. c. I.)

<sup>54</sup> V. 60.

<sup>55</sup> V. 294.

<sup>56</sup> V. 296.

<sup>57</sup> There was a festival, called Boedromia, instituted at Athens to commemorate the day of this assistance of Xuthus, according to Suidas, and the author of the Etymologicon; but Aristides refers it to the assistance of Ion when he came to Athens. (Meurs. De Reg. Athen. l. II. c. 10.)

<sup>58</sup> V. 298.

<sup>59</sup> This is mentioned by Demosthenes (contra Neæram, ed. Taylor, vol. II. p. 568.) and it may also be seen in Petit Leges Atticæ. (L. VI. Tit. 1.)

law of Solon<sup>60</sup> revived by Pericles, and again by Antiphon, free citizens were only those begot in lawful marriage between two parents, who were both free. We find therefore Ion, when imagining himself to be the son of Xuthus, complaining of his misfortune of having a father, who was not a native of Athens<sup>61</sup>; and he wishes that his unknown mother may be discovered an Athenian citizen, that he might enjoy, by virtue of this privilege, *παρρησία*, or the freedom of speech<sup>62</sup>:

For he, whose fortune leads him  
To a free state, proud of their unmix'd race,  
Tho' call'd a citizen, must close his lips  
With servile awe, for freedom is not his.

(POTTER, V. 711.)

Though these particular laws might not exist in that early period, which corresponds with the æra of the drama, yet Euripides flatters the vanity of his countrymen, whom history had constantly represented as uncommonly bigotted to their own soil and customs. When Xuthus and Creusa had been married for a considerable time<sup>63</sup>, they had the misfortune of having no children<sup>64</sup>. As the royal stem of the adored Erechtheus was thus in danger of being extinguished<sup>65</sup>,  
this

<sup>60</sup> Potter Archæol. (B. I. c. 9. & B. IV. c. 11.)

<sup>61</sup> V. 592.

<sup>62</sup> V. 672 & 675. When Diogenes was asked what is the most excellent thing among men, he replied, *παρρησία*, freedom of speech. (Diog. Laert. l. VI. p. 154. ed. 1664.)

<sup>63</sup> V. 64.

<sup>64</sup> V. 65 & 304.

<sup>65</sup> This circumstance of the male issue of Erechtheus being supposed to be extinct, which is constantly implied in this play of the Ion, and expressly asserted in another of our author's dramas, entitled, Erechtheus, (as appears from some lines still preserved in the fragments, V. 85. ed. Barnes, p. 468.).

this was a circumstance of the most alarming nature : the King and Queen therefore resolve to consult the oracles of the Gods on this important event ; and, that the responses of different oracles might be compared together <sup>66</sup>, Xuthus proceeded to the cave of Trophonius, before he visits Delphi, the celebrated fane of Apollo : while Creusa immediately travels to the latter place, and consequently arrives before her husband. This poetical stratagem furnishes a plausible pretence for an interesting conversation between Ion and Creusa, in the opening of the play, which the presence of Xuthus must otherwise have prevented. But this custom of consulting several oracles, in order to discover truth from their correspondence or diversity, is also founded on the sanction of history. Thus, according to Herodotus <sup>67</sup>, Crœsus sent to all the oracles in Græce and Africa to try if they agreed ; and with a view, if they did, to inquire of them, whether he should undertake his expedition against the Persians. And for the same cause of the *ἀρεσκία* <sup>68</sup>, or the want

is a fiction of the poet to enhance the dignity of his subject ; for, according to historical testimony, Cecrops the second, successor of Erechtheus, in the kingdom of Attica, was his son. Pausanias asserts, that, on the death of Erechtheus, Xuthus was chosen arbiter by his sons contending for the government ; and because he decreed, that the eldest Cecrops should be King, the other sons drove him from the country, (L. VII. c. i. p. 521). In another place, speaking of the two Kings of Athens of the name of Cecrops, he says, that the second, son of Erechtheus, led a colony into Eubœa, (L. I. c. v. p. 13.) Thus Apollodorus expressly mentions Cecrops, who reigned as the eldest son, upon the death of Erechtheus, L. III. p. 134. ed. 1555.). He also mentions four sons and three daughters of this Erechtheus, (L. III. p. 132. Id.) And Ovid assigns to him four children of each sex, (Met. l. VI. v. 679.) Eustathius also reckons Cecrops as one of his four sons, (on Iliad II.) The learned Meursius has fully discussed this subject, where he makes five sons and eight daughters of this Erechtheus (De Reg. Athen. l. II. c. 13. p. 144.).

<sup>66</sup> V. 302.

<sup>67</sup> L. I. c. 46.

<sup>68</sup> V. 620.



of children, that Xuthus and Creusa here consult the oracle of Delphi, so did Ægeus<sup>69</sup>, the father of Theseus, as Plutarch in the life of the latter informs us. As the temple of Delphi is the scene of the drama, which is embellished with a variety of allusions to it, it now demands our particular attention, as far as is necessary to illustrate them. I shall arrange my remarks under the respective heads of 1st, Scite. 2d, Ornaments. 3d, Votaries. 4th, Prieststefs. 5th, Subordinate Prophets. 6th, Oracular Responses. The temple of Delphi was situated in that part of antient Græce called Phocis, and according to the limited knowledge of the extent of the globe in those days it was considered as the central spot of the earth. Hence the favourite expression of the Greek tragedians of *μεσόμφαλος γῶς*, which the Romans ventured to translate literally into their umbilicum<sup>70</sup> terræ, or the navel of the earth. This fabulous error is said to have been built on an experiment<sup>71</sup> almost too ridiculous

<sup>69</sup> This reason Euripides in his *Medea* puts into the mouth of Ægeus,

MEDEA.

What led thee to the prophets' central shrine?

ÆGEUS.

To ask the God how offspring may be rais'd. (Potter, v. 728.)

<sup>70</sup> V. 2231. <sup>71</sup> (Livy, l. XXXVII. c. 48. l. XLI. c. 28.) And thus Milton has borrowed the phrase from the Greeks and Romans,

Within the navel of this hideous wood. (Mask. 520.)

<sup>71</sup> The Scholiasts often mention it as on the *Orestes* of our author (v. 331.) And on the fourth Pythick ode of Pindar (v. 5.) where it appears from the original, that there were golden eagles kept at Delphi, in commemoration of this story. See also Strabo *Geographia* (l. IX. p. 643.), and my notes on v. 224 & 226, of the play. The substance of the story is contained in the following lines of Claudian :

Jupiter, ut perhibent, spatium cum discere vellet

Naturæ, regni conscius ipse sui,

Armigeros utrinque duos æqualibus alis

Misit ab Eois Occiduifque plagis ;

Par-

culous to be mentioned, and which superstition alone could rivet on the mind. But to proceed to historical truth: The Delphians, according to Strabo<sup>72</sup>, occupy a craggy spot in form of a theatre, on the south side of Parnassus, on whose summit stood the oracle and city, encircling sixteen stadia: they formerly inhabited above the temple, where Lycoreia<sup>73</sup> is situated, but now they dwell around the fountain Castalia. The whole city of Delphi (says Pausanias) exhibits a declining figure on an acclivity; and thus the temple is described by Justin<sup>74</sup>, as impending on the cliff of Parnassus; where multitudes, resorting from every quarter, built a city, and seated themselves on the rock in admiration of its majesty. The temple was not fortified with artificial walls, but natural precipices; and it was a matter of doubt, whether the security of the spot, or the divinity of the God inspired the greater veneration. Heliodorus<sup>75</sup> observes, that Mount Parnassus was elevated, as a natural citadel, embracing, as it were, by its projecting sides the city. According to Sir George Wheler<sup>76</sup>, the modern name of Delphi is Castri; and he describes it as situated on the south side of the mountain Parnassus, something inclining towards

*Parnassus geminos fertur junxisse volatus,  
Contulit alternas Pythius axis aves.* (Carm. 16. v. 16.)

<sup>72</sup> L. IX. p. 640.

<sup>73</sup> See Pausanias (l. X. c. 6. p. 811. & c. 8. p. 818.) And Sir George Wheler asserts, "They call it now, as my companion saith, Liacoura; I understood it Hiliocoro; and should have thought myself mistaken by the article  $\eta$ , but that he who told it me, gave me the reason of its name, viz. because it shines so bright afar off, like the sun, which they call Hilios, adding the termination Coro, to make it signify the village of the sun: however it be, both the one and the other retains still something of the sound of the old name." (Travels into Græce, B. IV. p. 317.)

<sup>74</sup> L. XXIV. c. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Chariclea, l. 2.

<sup>76</sup> B. IV. p. 313.

the West, nor on the top, nor on the foot of the mountain; for it hath a great way to the plains of Crissa below it, and much more to the mountains above it: Our poet therefore makes the old Tutor complain with propriety,

High is the oracular feat, and steep th' ascent.

POTTER, v. 784.

This celebrated mountain had a forked summit of two eminences<sup>77</sup>, which are well known to have been consecrated<sup>78</sup> to Apollo and Bacchus: And Wheler<sup>79</sup> in his travels into Greece has given an engraving of Mount Parnassus, which displays the real truth of this poetical circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he observes, that the high cliffs seem to end in

<sup>77</sup> The *πῆληξ δισσας* (v. 1127.) and hence called *διόρυς*, by Sophocles (*Antig.* v. 1141.) and by Euripides, *διόρυπος*, Bacchæ, (v. 307.) and Phœnissæ, (v. 235.) Biceps, by Persius, (*Prol.* v. 2.) and by Seneca, (*Oedip.* v. 227.), and biverticis by Statius, (*Theb.* l. I. v. 629.) Ovid says,

Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus,  
Nomine Parnassus.

Met. l. I. v. 317.

These two summits are called by Heroditus, (l. VIII. c. 32 & c. 39.) Tithoreus and Hyampeus; but by others, Cyrrha and Nisa. Hence Juvenal,

Dominis Cyrrhæ Nisæque relictis. Sat. VII. v. 64.

Lucian observes, that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water (l. V. v. 75.) And Sir George Wheler says, "Indeed, I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to Mount Cenis among the Alpes." B. IV. p. 318.)

<sup>78</sup> Parnassus gemino petit æthera colle,  
Mons Phœbo Bromioque sacer. (Lucan, l. V. v. 73.)

To Phœbus, and the chearful God of wine,  
Sacred in common stands the hill divine.

(Rowe, Lucan. l. V. v. 1116.)

<sup>79</sup> Tom. IV. Fig. v. p. 313.

two points from the town of Delphi: He also adds, that there is a fountain, with a very plentiful source of water, continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain; which, by the marble steps leading to it, should be the fountain Castalia. The Delphick shrine appears to have been sprinkled from the water of this hallowed stream<sup>10</sup>, and it was customary for the ministers to bathe themselves, in it,

Hence, ye Delphick train,  
Haste to Castalia's silver-streaming fount,  
Bath'd<sup>11</sup> in its chaste-dews to the temple go.

(V. 107.)

The Chorus in our poet's *Phœnissæ*<sup>12</sup>, who are consecrated to the service of Apollo, says, that the stream of Castalia awaits them, that they may bathe their locks for their sacred employment; and the Scholiast on this passage remarks, that when the hallowed virgins were preparing to deliver the divine oracle on the tripod they washed themselves in the fountain Castalia.

We next proceed from the scite to the ornaments of the oracular shrine. The elegance of the marble columns immediately arrests the admiration of the Chorus on their first

<sup>10</sup> V. 148.

<sup>11</sup> That it was usual to bathe before the act of devotion among the Græcians also appears from the address of Telemachus to Penelope in the *Odyssæy*.

Go bathe, and robed in white ascend the tow'rs,  
With all thy handmaids thank th'immortal pow'rs.

Pope, b. XVII. v. 61.

Thus Deucalion and Pyrrha in Ovid sprinkle themselves with the water of Cephissus, before they approach to the shrine of Themis.

(Met. l. I. v. 371.)

<sup>12</sup> V. 230.

arrival<sup>83</sup>: The paintings on the walls are described in very animated poetry; for the figures of Hercules and Iolaus, destroying the Lernæan Hydra<sup>84</sup>, Bellerophon on his Pegasus in conflict with the Chimæra<sup>85</sup>, and the Gigantomachia, or the battle of the Gods against the Giants<sup>86</sup>, are all mentioned with their divine symbols of war: The avenues of the temple, as well as the inmost recesses, were all adorned with the favourite plant of the God, the sacred laurel<sup>87</sup>; and the altar was incensed with the most costly perfume<sup>88</sup>: As to the internal riches<sup>89</sup> of this temple they were even proverbial in the days of Homer,

Not all Apollo's Pythian treasures hold.

(B. IX. v. 525.)

The images of Gold are mentioned by our Poet in his Phœnissæ<sup>90</sup>; and the furniture of its treasury appears from this play to have been most richly interwoven, and elegantly embroidered with variety of figures representing History and

<sup>83</sup> V. 185.

<sup>84</sup> V. 191, 192. 198.

<sup>85</sup> V. 202 & 203.

<sup>86</sup> V. 206.

<sup>87</sup> V. 76. 80. 104.

<sup>88</sup> V. 89.

<sup>89</sup> There is a dissertation in the *Memoires de L'Academie Royale des Inscriptions & des Belles Lettres* on the subject *Des Richesses du temple des Delphes, & des differens pillages, qui en ont ete fait*. This was written in the year 1715, and it may be seen in the *Choix des Memoires* lately published from that collection, and printed in England, (vol. I. p. 33.) There are also in the same volume three Dissertations by Monsieur Hardion, sur l'Oracle de Delphes, (p. 127.) This Author has collected from Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pausanias, and Plutarch, all the different accounts relating to the origin and antiquity, situation, and divinities of the respective temples, built and plundered at Delphi: Speaking of its wealth, he says, "Il me suffit de dire que des le tems de Xerxes ou faisoit monter les tresors des Delphes, aussi haut que ceux de ce souverain des Peres, qui couvrit l'Hellespont de ces vaisseaux & qui envahit le Grece avec une armée de six cent mille hommes," (Prem. Dissert. p. 140.)

<sup>90</sup> V. 228.

Astronomy<sup>91</sup>. These were the offerings or *ἀναθήματα* of eminent personages, who had visited the shrine ; and Hercules is mentioned to have bestowed a present of this nature from the spoils of the Amazons<sup>92</sup> : This naturally brings me to the next consideration of Votaries. In order to support the veneration of Mankind political artifice demanded, that these oracles should not be always liable to be consulted at the will and pleasure of the Visitants : Hence the propriety of stated days, which were peculiarly consecrated to this solemn act of Pagan devotion : To this circumstance Xuthus alludes, when he observes on the day of his arrival, that it was *αἰσίοις*<sup>93</sup>, or propitious for the immediate object of his visit to Delphi, which was to consult the God. An historical anecdote, recorded by Plutarch<sup>94</sup> in his life of Alexander, is a curious illustration of this circumstance. This Monarch, being disposed to consult the oracle of Apollo, arrived at an inauspicious season for that purpose, and the Priestesses peremptorily refused to violate the law on this occasion ; upon which he dragged her by violence into the temple, and she finding herself unable to resist, exclaimed, “ O my son, thou art invincible.” The expression Alexander interpreted, as a fortunate omen, and without troubling her farther immediately acquiesced. This precaution (says Fontenelle<sup>95</sup>) had a mysterious appearance, which in affairs of this nature is of considerable consequence ; but the principal utility derived from it was, that on this pretext they could dismiss you, if they had reasons for not choosing to answer ; or during this

<sup>91</sup> V. 1146 to 1164.    <sup>92</sup> V. 1145. 1165. See also Supplices, v. 1200.

<sup>93</sup> V. 421.

<sup>94</sup> Ed. Bryan, vol. IV. p. 21.

<sup>95</sup> V. 228.

<sup>95</sup> Hist. des Orac. C. 13.

season of silence they might take measures, and make their preparations. But other requisites were necessary, before the altar could be approached : Ion informs the Chorus, that it was unlawful to pass the threshold<sup>96</sup>, till a preparatory rite had been performed, and it appears that different privileges were annexed to these preliminary presents from the standard of their value and importance, since he afterwards observes, that the *πέλανος* or cake<sup>97</sup> enabled the Votary to approach the altar, but the sacrifice of sheep was essential to visit the inmost recess of the shrine. Plutarch<sup>98</sup> also alludes to these victims at Delphi, and in another place asserts, that we do nothing contrary to reason by sacrificing them, crowning them with garlands, and making libations ; he informs us too, that the name of this victim was denominated *όσωτήρ*<sup>99</sup>, a title derived from its peculiar sanctity. These artful distinctions between the offerings of less expensive donations, and the more costly animals, were of great importance to the interest of the priesthood ; and the elegant French Author of the History of Oracles just cited has well explained the various uses, resulting from these preparatory sacrifices<sup>100</sup> : When these were duly performed, the Votaries carrying the branches of Delphick laurel in their hands<sup>1</sup>, and their heads<sup>2</sup> encircled with it, approached the shrine. This was the residence of the consecrated Pythia, or Priestess of Apollo, whom we are next to consider : When Græce (says Plutarch<sup>3</sup>) was crowded with cities, there were two women prophetesses at

<sup>96</sup> V. 221.      <sup>97</sup> V. 227.      <sup>98</sup> De Orac. Defec. vol. II. p. 435.  
437. 493. ed. Xylan.      <sup>99</sup> Quæst Græce, Id. p. 292.      <sup>100</sup> C. 14.

<sup>1</sup> V. 422.      <sup>2</sup> It appears from the Plutus of Aristophanes, that they were then under the immediate protection of the God, for Cario the servant defies his Master to beat him, as having the chaplet, (v. 21.)

<sup>3</sup> De Orac. defectu, ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 414.

Delphi,

Delphi, who officiated alternately; and a third <sup>4</sup> was admitted, as an affessor; but in his time there was only one: she was elected by lot, for Æschylus <sup>5</sup> says of Titanis, that she was ἐν τριῶν λαύξει, or in the third lot: And the Pythia in this play tells us, that she was selected from all the Delphian Dames <sup>6</sup>. In the first establishment of the oracle, virgins presided over this sacred department: On account (says Diodorus <sup>7</sup> Siculus) of the purity of their nature, and their correspondence with Diana; for such are well disposed to preserve the secrets of the shrine; but afterwards they report, that Echecrates the Theffalian, visiting the oracle, and beholding the oracular virgin, became enamoured with her beauty, and by force compressed her: The Delphians in consequence of this event enacted a law, that no virgin for the future should deliver the responses, but a woman advanced in life to the age of fifty years: she was however adorned in the garb of a virgin in commemoration of the original Prophetess. The Scholiast on the Plutus <sup>8</sup> of Aristophanes corresponds with this story in regard to Echecrates; and Plutarch <sup>9</sup> and Ælian <sup>10</sup> both mention antient women, as Prophetesses: Thus in Æschylus the Pythia speaks of her “age-enfeebled steps <sup>11</sup> :” And the Priestesses of this play must have been ancient, since she found the infant Ion before the vestibule of her temple <sup>12</sup>, who calls her mother <sup>13</sup>: To execute her office, she seated herself on the hallowed tripod; and in

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Potter was not aware of this passage in Plutarch, when he endeavours to refute the assertion of Venerius (De Divin. et Orac. Antiq.) who advanced that there was more than one Pythia at the same time, (Archæol. B. II. c. 9. p. 277.)

<sup>5</sup> Eum. v. 5.

<sup>6</sup> V. 1323.

<sup>7</sup> L. 16. vol. II. p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> V. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Numo, vol. I. p. 66. ed. Xylan.

<sup>10</sup> De Anim: l. 11. c. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Potter, Furies, vol. II. p. 231.

<sup>12</sup> V. 42. 1324. 1339.

<sup>13</sup> V. 331. 1324.



this attitude she is painted by Euripides, as delivering her oracles <sup>14</sup>. An historical anecdote, related by Diodorus <sup>15</sup> Siculus, demonstrates the importance of this circumstance : When Philomelus consulted the Pythia on the Phocian War, he compelled her, ascending the tripod, to give him an oracle; and when she answered him from the tripod, asserting this mode to be the custom of the country, he obliged her with threats to ascend the tripod <sup>16</sup>. This proves the ancient idea that the posture of the Priestesses on this occasion was supposed extremely essential. The part of the tripod on which she sat was called the ὄλμος <sup>17</sup>, through which the sacred blast was communicated from the earth. Thus Strabo <sup>18</sup> informs us, that they report the oracle to be a cave hollow at the bottom with an inconsiderable orifice; and from that an enthusiastick spirit arose; he adds, that over the mouth of the orifice was placed an elevated tripod, which the Pythia ascending, after receiving the blast, prophesied. An influence arising from the earth (says Cicero <sup>19</sup>), excited the Pythia at Delphi; and in another <sup>20</sup> passage of his treatise on divination he observes, that there was a certain exhalation of the earth, in consequence of which the inflated mind became oracular. Thus Diodorus <sup>21</sup> Siculus expressly asserts, that there was a chasm in the place called the inmost recess of

<sup>14</sup> V. 91.

<sup>15</sup> L. 16. vol. II. p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> Id. p. 102. Thus Aristophanes διὰ τριπόδων ἐρρίμην, (Equit. v. 1013.) where the Scholiast says, that the Priestesses sat upon the tripod.

<sup>17</sup> Scholiast on Aristophanes, Plutus, v. 9. This orifice may be seen engraved in a tripod of Apollo in Montfaucon, though the Author has taken no particular notice of it, but only observes of this figure in general, Les Phœbades ou les Pythiennes se tenoient pour y rendre des oracles. (Antiq. Expl. tom. III. l. 3. c. 3. pl. 52. fig. 1.)

<sup>18</sup> L. 9. p. 642.

<sup>19</sup> De Divin. l. 1. c. 36. f. 79. and c. 19. f. 38.

<sup>20</sup> L. 1. c. 51. f. 115.

<sup>21</sup> L. 16. vol. II. p. 102.

the shrine: He also informs us, that from its miraculous effect the oracle was called that of the Earth: And Plutarch<sup>22</sup> relates, that the shrine was said to belong to her: Hence Æschylus<sup>23</sup> addresses Earth under the title of the first Prophetess, and our Poet in the play calls the Earth Phœbean<sup>24</sup>. This idea corresponds with the original discovery of the Oracle; which Diodorus<sup>25</sup> Siculus, Lucan<sup>26</sup>, and Plutarch<sup>27</sup>, attribute to this enthusiastick exhalation. The effluvia arising was the real or imagined source of all that violent frenzy, which agitated the minds of the prophets; and compelled them (says Justin<sup>28</sup>) when filled by the God to deliver their responses: Hence the holy vapour ascended, and in the words of Longinus<sup>29</sup>, impregnated the Priests with the divine energy, who then became instantly inspired: The whole God, or "the incola<sup>30</sup> Pythius," took possession of her enraptured mind:

Sic plena laborat<sup>31</sup>

Phemonoe Phœbo.

Lucan, l. V. v. 186.

From

<sup>22</sup> De Pyth. Orac. vol. II. p. 402. ed. Xylan.

<sup>23</sup> Eum. v. 2.

<sup>24</sup> V. 461.

<sup>25</sup> L. 16. p. 102.

<sup>26</sup> Ut vidit Pœan vastos telluris hiatus  
Divinam spirare fidem ventosque loquaces  
Exhalare solum, sacris se condidit antris,  
Incubuitque adyto: vates ibi factus Apollo.

L. V. v. 82.

<sup>27</sup> De Orac. Defectu. ed. Xylan vol. II. p. 433.

<sup>28</sup> L. 24. c. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Sect. 13. p. 86. ed. Pierce.

<sup>30</sup> (Hor. l. i. Od. 16. v. 6.)

<sup>31</sup> Hence were derived the epithets of *εργασμένης* and *εργασμένης*; the former of these words occurs in Sophocles, as mentioned in Julius Pollux, (l. 2. c. 4. sec. 162.) and the latter in Plutarch, who remarks that these *εργασμένης* were in his time called Pythons, though they formerly derived their name from Eurycles (De Orac. Defectu, vol. II. ed. Xylan, p. 414.) He does not inform us who this Eurycles was, but we collect from Aristophanes, (Vesp. v. 1014.) that he was a celebrated Jugler at Athens: The

From this moment her enthusiasm was of the most elevated nature: neither the ardour of imagination could conceive, nor the compass of language express, a sublime idea beyond it: The noblest comparison in all antiquity is built upon it: for Longinus<sup>32</sup> compares the effect produced from the emulation of the works of the most exalted geniuses on the minds of those, who are not themselves sufficiently animated, to this divine effluvia, which breathed the inspiration into the Prophets on her approach to the tripod through the fissure of earth. It is no wonder therefore, if this animated Lady disdained Prose, and delivered her Oracles in Verse. Pausanias<sup>33</sup> relates, that Phemonoe, the most celebrated Priestess, was the first who sung in Hexameters: And Pliny<sup>34</sup> allows, that we are indebted to the Pythian Oracle for Heroick Verse: Indeed the first line of this noble measure, ever

Scholias here observes, that he was called by this name *ἰγγρασίμβος* from having prophesied truth at Athens in consequence of the Deity being within him; and that all prophets were hence denominated *ἰγγρασίται καὶ Εὐρυκλίται*. The word *ἰγγρασίμβος* is also to be found in the Septuag. (Levit. c. 19. v. 31.) and in the Sibylline Oracles, (l. 3. p. 235. ed. Opsop. 1599.) There is neither in Latin, English, or probably in any other language an analogous term to express this, except in the French, whose ventriloque exactly translates it: And the Author of the article under the word in the Encyclopedie there gives a very plausible solution of the ancient imposition practised under this pretended mode of divination. I had the opportunity at Paris, in the year 1771, of hearing a Ventriloque: his hollow voice whispered in my ear, as proceeding from a great distance; nor was there any possibility of discovering by the external motion of his lips, or by any other visible sign, whence it issued. Monsieur de la Chapelle published in 1772 two little volumes upon this subject, entitled, "Le Ventriloque ou l'Engastrimythe," and he has there given an account of several persons, who possessed this extraordinary power.

<sup>32</sup> De Sublim. sect. 13. ed. Pearce, p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> L. 10. c. 5. See also Proclus in his Chrestomathia preserved in Photius (Bibliot. p. 982.)

<sup>34</sup> Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 57. p. 417.

heard,

heard, is preserved in Plutarch<sup>35</sup>, as reported to have been uttered at Delphi: And Daphne, daughter of Tiresias, according to Diodorus<sup>36</sup> Siculus, had so fine a genius, that she wrote many oracles in different modes of composition; so that Homer was reported to have borrowed many lines from her to adorn his own Poetry. Among the records of ancient history many Oracles in metre are still extant; and Cicero<sup>37</sup> declares that under this form of song the secrets of Apollo were disclosed: but he observes<sup>38</sup> that the God ceased to deliver verses in the time of Pyrrhus; and he confesses<sup>39</sup> that the Oracle of Delphi had sunk into the utmost contempt long before his own age; the cause<sup>40</sup> of which was imputed to the loss of the effluvia having vanished from the spot. The idea of this original poetical faculty was so deeply riveted in the opinion of antiquity, and so acknowledged a truth, that it became a celebrated problem in the time of Plutarch, "Why the Pythian Priests had then ceased to deliver her oracles in verse." On which question he composed a dissertation<sup>41</sup>. He asserts however that many ancient Oracles had been delivered in prose<sup>42</sup>, and that even in his days some ran into verse. These Delphick Responses had often another very Pindarick quality, which was their industrious obscurity: Hence Apollo derived the title of Loxias in allusion to the obliquity and mysterious terms under which his oracles were couched; so that the In-

<sup>35</sup> De Pyth. Orac. vol. II. p. 402, ed. Xylan. See also Pausanias, l. 10. c. 6. p. 812. where other verses of this Priests are mentioned.

<sup>36</sup> L. 4. c. 66. vol. I. p. 311.

<sup>37</sup> De Divin. l. 1. c. 51. f. 115.

<sup>38</sup> De Divin. l. 2. c. 56. f. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Id. c. 57. f. 117.

<sup>40</sup> De Divin. l. 1. c. 19. f. 38. & l. 2. c. 57. f. 117.

<sup>41</sup> Ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 394.

<sup>42</sup> Id. p. 403.

terpreter <sup>43</sup> stood in need of an Interpretation, and Divination was consigned to Divination : Hence arose the necessity of the *Ἰεροφάνται*, or subordinate Prophets, whose employment was to unravel the intricacy of the Prophetess, and to decypher her equivocal words into proper <sup>44</sup> language. These were the Chiefs of Delphi, elected by lot <sup>45</sup> to the sacred ministry of the God ; and they are expressly mentioned to be assessor near the tripod <sup>46</sup>. There were many persons (says Plutarch <sup>47</sup>) who maintained, that men of distinguished poetical genius were placed near the oracular seat on purpose to catch the words, which they instantly enveloped in rhythm, adapted to these oracles : Thus Strabo <sup>48</sup> asserts, that certain poets attending the shrine, when the Pythia prophesied in prose, cloathed it in metre. According to this idea Boileau in his *L'Art Poétique* has assigned this honour of poetical enthusiasm to the Priest,

Du sein d'un Pretre, emu d'une divine horreur,  
Apollon par des vers exhala sa fureur.

Chant. 4. v. 153.

But Vida <sup>49</sup> and Milton <sup>50</sup> have both recognized the consecrated privilege of the inspired Prophetesses. If the women are jealous of being divested of this venerable prerogative of poetical talents, without discussing the abstruse question, whether the Priestesses of Ancient Delphi repeated verses of their own composition extempore, I will appeal with evidence irresistible to the *Improvvisatrici* of Modern Italy ; and I will

<sup>43</sup> Cicero de Divin. l. 2. c. 56. f. 115.

<sup>44</sup> V. 101.

<sup>45</sup> V. 416.

<sup>46</sup> V. 415.

<sup>47</sup> Ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 407.

<sup>48</sup> L. 9. p. 642.

<sup>49</sup> Poet. l. 1. v. 38.

<sup>50</sup> Ad Patrem,

v. 25. ed. Newton, vol. III. p. 660.

boldly

boldly affirm, that this effort of female imagination ought not to be degraded into a miracle ; for what were the barren responses of a Delphick Pheemonoe compared with the sublime poetry of the Florentine Corilla ? What were a few detached verses of the Græcian Prophetess enclosed in her dark shrine in comparison with the elegant connected rhymes of the Italian Poetess, who in the presence of all the Roman Nobility and Foreigners, when crowned in the Capitol at Rome in the year 1777, poured her melodious verses for four hours incessantly ? I heard her myself, when the subject given was of a nature very difficult, the English order of the Bath, in compliment to the British Minister at Florence, when he received it in 1769 ; yet this animated Lady delivered her flowing rhapsody without the least hesitation, and embellished her sweet poetry with an enchanting voice. The last object of my present consideration is the Oracles themselves : These too had their divination by lot ; as we may collect from an expression <sup>51</sup> applied to Apollo : And Callimachus <sup>52</sup> among the attributes of the God enumerates his lots, which the Scholiast there explains the prophetick pebbles : These I conceive were used to ascertain the order in which the Votaries should approach ; for the Pythia commands them in Æschylus <sup>53</sup> to advance by lot ; and the epithet fortilegis is applied by Horace <sup>54</sup> to Delphi : In regard to the substance of these Oracular responses the memorable apothegm of Heraclitus, preserved in Plutarch <sup>55</sup>, is the best illustration of them, “ That the God neither declares explicitly, nor conceals en-

<sup>51</sup> V. 998.<sup>52</sup> Hym. in Apol. v. 45.<sup>53</sup> Eumen. v. 32.<sup>54</sup> Ars Poet. v. 219.<sup>55</sup> Οὐτε λέγει, ὅτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. De Pyth. Orac. vol. II. ed. Xylandr. p. 404.

“ tirely,

“tirely, but suggests only the figurative hint:” He is unwilling (says Plutarch <sup>56</sup>) to suppress the truth, but disguising the manifestation of it by a poetick umbrage, like a ray of light divided into many refractions, he removes the intense severity of it. Thus Ion himself tells Xuthus in the play, that he has mistaken the ænigma <sup>57</sup> of the response. Yet a much heavier imputation than this political obscurity often lay against these oracles. Herodotus <sup>58</sup> and other Authors have recorded instances of collusion, bribery, and corruption. We are informed by Cicero <sup>59</sup>, that Chrysippus collected an immense quantity of these oracles from the most undoubted sources of information; and in another passage <sup>60</sup> he tells us, that this book of Chrysippus was filled with Oracles of Apollo, which were partly false and partly true by accident, as frequently happens in all discourse; and some were capable of a double construction; of which he mentions the response given to Croesus and Pyrrhus. Fontenelle in his *Histoire des Oracles* has arranged into one chapter <sup>61</sup> all the historical testimonies on this subject, and in another <sup>62</sup> has detected the imposition of them: The very example in the play is a strong argument against the veracity of the Delphick shrine; for Apollo <sup>63</sup> misleads Xuthus by the artifice of a palpable falsehood, and by imposing his own son Ion on the royal stranger: yet this Oracle of Delphi was held in the highest veneration by Ancient Græce: It had never been so celebrated or renowned (says Cicero <sup>64</sup>) nor filled with so many presents of all Na-

<sup>56</sup> Id. p. 407.

<sup>58</sup> L. 5. c. 63. & l. 6. c. 61.

<sup>60</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 56. f. 115.

<sup>62</sup> C. 17. Fourberies des Oracles manifestement decouvertes.

<sup>63</sup> V. 536. & 788.

<sup>57</sup> V. 533.

<sup>59</sup> De Divin. l. 1. c. 19. f. 37.

<sup>61</sup> C. 10. Oracles corrompus.

<sup>64</sup> L. 1. c. 19. f. 37.

tions and Sovereigns, unless every age had experienced the veracity of these responses : And Strabo <sup>65</sup> observes that the greatest honour was derived to this Delphick shrine, because it appeared the most famous for truth : This indeed became a proverbial <sup>66</sup> expression among the Greeks : And the credulous Plutarch <sup>67</sup> maintains that the Pythian Priests had enjoyed a reputation of three thousand years, and that to his time she had stood the test of inquiry, and had never furnished conviction against herself. But now, in those apposite and beautiful lines of Milton,

The Oracles are dumb,  
No voice, or hideous hum,  
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving;  
Apollo from his shrine  
Can no more divine  
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving :  
No nightly trance, or breathed spell  
Inspires the pale-ey'd priest from the prophetick cell.

The Hymn, v. 180. ed. Newton, vol. III. p. 333.

And we may collect from Sir George Wheeler <sup>68</sup> the melancholy devastation of time on ancient Delphi ; for he says that the town of Castri consists of not above two hundred houses, and those very ill built ; and of a church called St. Helias, where he found some pieces of white marble with inscriptions on them, he observes, that this seems to be the place most likely for the temple of Apollo to have been situated in.

<sup>65</sup> L. 9. p. 642. <sup>66</sup> Τὰ ἀπὸ ἧ ἐκ τρέποντος (Zenob. Cent. 6. 3. Dogen. Cent. 8. 21. Suidæ, Cent. 13. 7. 11. Proverbia Græca ab Andrea Schotto, p. 152. 251. 539.) <sup>67</sup> De Pyth. Orac. ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 408. <sup>68</sup> Travels into Græce, b. IV. p. 314 & 315.



Having now detained my reader too long, I shall dismiss him with this observation, that the subject of the Ion has all that majesty, which the Tragick Muse demands: The Characters are of the most royal quality; and the scene of the drama is laid in the most consecrated spot of Antiquity; so that Religion and Policy mutually conspire to the elevation of this tragedy. If I may be indulged with borrowing the allegory from the subject, Euripides is the Delphick God, who breathes the divine original Oracle; the English Translator is the inspired Pythia, who communicates it embellished with the charm of Poetry; the Commentator may be considered as the subordinate Prophet<sup>69</sup>, who is the humble Expounder of the mysterious Response; and the Reader I trust will be the ardent Votary, not at the degrading footstool of humiliating Superstition, but at the exalted shrine of sublime Genius.

<sup>69</sup> Ὡς περ Θεῶν ἱεροφανταὶ καὶ δαδῆχοι τῆς σοφίας ὄντες, ὅσα πρὸ ἐξὶ ἐν δυνάτει, ταῦτα μιμνῆσθαι καὶ περιανίζειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν. Plut. De Liber. Educac. ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 10.

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# I O N.

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## INTERMEDIATE NOTES.

### Nº I.

Verse 1. \*Α/λας.

1. Atlas.

THIS poetical genealogy of Mercury, as the Son of Jupiter and Maia, Daughter of Atlas, who supported the Heavens, is too often mentioned in Pagan poetry <sup>1</sup> to require illustration: But it may not perhaps be improper to observe, that we may collect from the epithet in Homer of ἐλσάφρονος <sup>2</sup>, which implies universal knowledge, and is applied to Atlas, the original cause of the fable in regard to him; for he was an eminent Philosopher. Diodorus <sup>3</sup> Siculus asserts, that he was an excellent Astrologer, and the first who discovered the knowledge of the sphere; and that hence arose

<sup>1</sup> Virg. *Æn.* 8. v. 141. and Ovid *Fast.* 1. V. v. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* 1. I. v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> L. III. p. 229. & 1. IV. p. 273. ed. Wess.

the

the common opinion, that the whole world reclined on his shoulders: To this idea Cicero <sup>4</sup> corresponds, *Nec vero Atlas sustinere cœlum, nisi cœlestium divina cognitio nomen ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset.* Heraclitus <sup>5</sup> assigns as the cause of this fabulous support of the Heavens by Atlas, because he was the first, who from his application to Astrology foretold the alteration of seasons and the setting of stars. Phurnutus <sup>6</sup> deduces the origin of his name, because he solved all the heavenly phænomena without any difficulty, and declares that the epithet *ἀλόφρονα* was bestowed on him from his attention to the universe or *τῶν ὅλων*. Thus Iopas, the musician in Virgil <sup>7</sup> at the court of Dido, when he plays on his Harp all the lessons of Atlas, embraces the greatest subjects both of Astronomy and Natural Philosophy. The learned Mr. Bryant in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology has lately suggested other ingenious reasons for the foundation of this fable, (vol. I. p. 221 & 387.)

## N° II.

Verse 12. *Χθονὸς.*

15. Where northward points the rock.

IF the word *χθονὸς* (says Dr. Musgrave) is governed by *προσβόρῃς*, it is a false assertion that the rocks of Macrai were situated North of the Athenian Dominions; for they touched

<sup>4</sup> Tusc. Quæst. l. V. c. 3.

<sup>5</sup> De Incred. c. 4. ed. Gale, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 26. ed. Gale, p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> Æn. l. v. 745, &c.

the city, which was itself situated in the southern part of the Country. Dr. Musgrave has not mentioned any authorities in support of his geography, and I find the following testimonies directly against his opinion. Thucydides<sup>1</sup> informs us, that the Acropolis, and that part underneath it, verging to the South, was formerly the whole city. When Athens increased, we learn from Aristides<sup>2</sup> in his description of it, that this citadel no longer remained the extremity, but became the center, surrounding the whole body of the edifices, and was conspicuous for ornament and convenience: As the circles of a shield mutually approaching each other, the fifth in the center is the most beautiful, thus Græce, says he, is situated in the middle of the whole earth, Attica<sup>3</sup> in the middle of Græce, Athens in the middle of its territory, and its citadel, synonymous with it, in the middle of the city. Corresponding to this irrefragable testimony is the observation of Sir George Wheler<sup>4</sup>, who mentioning the extent of Attica from the Isthmus to Oropus, near the mouth of the river Asopus, adds, that Cecrops chose the rock, which is situated in a large plain, and near the middle of this country, to build the metropolis of his kingdom. There is no necessity therefore for any alteration in this passage, which is consistent with geography; for the cave of Macrai was on the Northern part of the Citadel of Athens, and that was in the center of Attica; consequently the situation of the former may be called North of the Territory. A learned Friend has lately suggested to me another explication, that Euripides by

<sup>1</sup> L. II. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Orat. Panathen. tom. I. p. 99. ed. Jebb. See also

Meursius Cecrop. c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Εἴπερ ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πάσης γῆς, ἡ δὲ Ἀττικὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πόλις, τῆς δ' αὖ πόλεως ἡ ὁμόνομος, (Id. p. 99.)

<sup>4</sup> Travels into Græce, b. v. p. 337.

the expression of τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡβονός does not mean North of the Territory of Attica, but North of the district belonging to the Inhabitants of the City of Athens.

## N° III.

Verse 13. Μακραί.

17. Macrai.

THIS cave of Macrai in the Acropolis of Athens according to the learned Mr. Bryant<sup>1</sup> was denominated from Macar, a title of the deity given by the Ammonians, and by the Græcians was interpreted Macrai, as if it related to extent. It is here<sup>2</sup> and again afterwards<sup>3</sup> called the Northern Cave; and Pausanias<sup>4</sup> expressly mentions it in his description of the citadel of Athens, and says, that as you descend just under the portico is a temple of Apollo and Pan, and in that is the cave, where they suppose Apollo to have embraced Creusa, the Daughter of Erechtheus. Now it appears from Sir George Wheler's<sup>5</sup> travels into Græce, that the Acropolis or castle of Athens is built upon a long rock, with precipices every way from it, except on the North West end; where you mount by a steep ascent to the entrance; and Pausanias<sup>6</sup> also says, there is but one approach since the rest is entire precipice: This fixes the precise situation of the cave, corresponding to the expression of Euripides, for according to Pausanias it is as you descend, and Wheler informs us, that

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Myth. vol. I. p. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> V. 11.

<sup>3</sup> V. 937.

<sup>4</sup> L. I. c. 28. p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> B. V. p. 357.

<sup>6</sup> L. I. c. 22. p. 51.

the

the only descent is on the North West side: He also tells us, "that strait up to the rock of the castle he went to see a little church, called Panagia Spiliotissa, or our Lady of the grotto, (of which he has annexed an engraving) and adds, for it is but a grotto hewn out of the rock, on which the Castle standeth;" after giving an account of the Architecture, and inscription of this he says, "it is not the Grotto where Apollo courted Creusa, Daughter of Erechtheus, and was afterwards dedicated to Apollo and Pan, as hath been until now generally thought; for my Comrade (Dr. Spon) has well observed out of Euripides and Lucian, that the Grotto of Pan and Apollo was on the North side of the Castle, and that it was under the wall of it called Pelasgicon: Whereas the church of Panagia is under the Southern wall, called Cimonium<sup>7</sup>." The passage in Lucian, to which the Author refers, expressly calls it the Cave of Pan under the Acropolis<sup>8</sup>, as in Euripides. Wheler proceeds to observe, "After we turned about the Eastern end of the Castle, and came to another Grotto made by nature in the rock, without either ornament or art used to beautify it; which is more likely to be the Grotto of Pan and Apollo, according to the forementioned Authors: but agrees not with Pausanias: It is seen from the Consul's house almost in the middle of the town, which lieth North of the Citadel<sup>9</sup>." As it is a subject of elegant curiosity to trace at this distance of time the several places, to which Euripides alludes in his dramas, the Reader perhaps will not be displeased with the above investigation.

<sup>7</sup> P. 368 & 369.

vol. II. p. 801. ed. Hemster.)

<sup>8</sup> Τὴν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει σπήλυγγα, (Bis Accus :

<sup>9</sup> P. 370.

Verse 54. *Χρυσοφύλακα.*

O'er the treasures

66. The Delphians placed him.

IT appeared, that Milton read Euripides with critical attention from the margin of his edition, in which several passages were corrected by him, and some of his proposed readings have been inserted by Barnes in his edition: His book afterwards came into the possession of the late Dr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society, where Dr. Musgrave informs me, that he remembers to have seen it: Dr. Birch on his death left his Library to the British Musæum; but on inquiry I find that the Euripides of Milton is not in the number of those books there deposited. I have since discovered, that it is now in the possession of Dr. Johnson, who in his life of Milton<sup>1</sup> has the following anecdote: "The books, in which his daughter, who used to read to him, represented him as most delighting, after Homer, which he could almost repeat, were Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Euripides: His Euripides is by Mr. Cradock's kindness now in my hands; the margin is sometimes noted; but I have found nothing remarkable." On application to Dr. Johnson, I have had the pleasure to inspect the book, and I discover that the edition is that of Paul Stephens<sup>2</sup>: It is now the property of Joseph Cradock, Esq. of Gumly, in the county of Leicester, and is authenticated to have belonged to Milton, from his name prefixed to the first volume, written by himself, with an account

<sup>1</sup> P. 138.

<sup>2</sup> This edition in two volumes quarto was published at Geneva in 1602 in Greek and Latin, containing the Scholia, with the Comments of Brodæus, Canterus, Stiblinus, and Æmilius Portus, and the Latin Version of Canterus.

of it by Dr. Birch; if any thing essential should have been omitted by Barnes, I propose to insert it, with the consent of the present owner, among my Annotations on the Greek text, since Mr. Cradock has indulged me with the perusal.

Our English Poet, from this character and employment of Ion, as Treasurer of the Delphick Temple, has drawn a poetical compliment in his Latin Poem to the Librarian of Oxford, when he calls him,

Æternorum operum custos fidelis;  
 Quæstorque gazæ nobilioris,  
 Quam cui præfuit Ion  
 Clarus Erechtheides  
 Opulenta dei per templa parentis,  
 Fulvosque tripodas, donaque Delphica,  
 Ion Actæa genitus Creusæ.

Ad Joannem Rousium. Strophe 3. v. 60.

Ed. Newton, vol. III. p. 688.

N° V.

Verse 82. Τεθρίππων.

96. Chariot of the Sun.

THE original expression here implies the quadriga, or chariot of the Sun, drawn by four horses: And all the Poets, Painters, and Sculptors, both Ancient and Modern, have almost universally bestowed this compliment on Apollo. The Scholiast on our Author's Phœnissæ<sup>1</sup> has given the Greek

<sup>1</sup> V. 3. Χρόνος, Αἴθρῃ, Ἀργαπῇ, Βροσῇ. The expression of τεθρίππων, applied to the chariot of the Sun, also occurs in that play, (v. 1555.) And Valerius Flaccus says,

Cum Phœbus equos rutilasque quadrigas  
 Dirigit. (Argon. l. XVI. v. 314.)



names of these four Steeds, which translated into English imply, Time, Splendour, Lightning, Thunder; but Ovid in his story of Phaeton, though he derives the etymology of them from the Greek language, corresponds in one instance only of these four names with this Scholiast,

Interea volucres Pyroeis, et Eous et Æthon,  
Solis equi, quartusque Phlegon.

(Met. l. II. v. 154.)

There are other names assigned to these horses of the sun by Fulgentius, who thus explains the propriety of them; Erythræus, or red, because the Sun rises with red streaks at the morning dawn; Actæon, or Splendent, because about the third hour he shines with a greater degree of refulgence; Lamos, or glowing, because at the meridian he has ascended the central circle; and Philogeus, or the Lover of the Earth, because about the ninth hour, verging towards the west, he leans on the declivity: And the reason of the Sun's quadriga is thus explained by him, either because he performs the annual revolution by the division of the four seasons, or because he measures the space of the day in a path, which may be divided into four parts *quadrifido limite*<sup>2</sup>: The only instance in any record of Antiquity, which I ever met to the contrary, is an assertion of the Scholiast of Sophocles on the Ajax on the word λευκοπώλω<sup>3</sup>; who there remarks, that the Sun has two white Horses for his car, Lamos and Phaeton: But the passage to which the Scholiast there alludes (though he does not mention it) will serve to correct his error. For

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Auc. Myth. ed. Stav. p. 637 & 638.  
Φαίθων.

<sup>3</sup> V. 681. Λάμπων καὶ

Homer in his 23d Odyſſey \* mentions the chariot of *Ἥως*, or Aurora, as drawn by two horſes, correſponding to theſe names of Lampos and Phaeton: Theſe by miſtake he has transferred to the Sun, who in Poetical Mythology is a diſtinct perſonage from Aurora; and though this Goddeſs is ſometimes honoured with the chariot of the God Apollo, as in Virgil,

*Auroram Phaetontis equi jam luce vehebant.*

(Æn. 5. v. 105.)

And ſometimes has a quadriga of her own, as in the ſame Roman Poet,

*Rofeis Aurora quadrigis,*

(Æn. 6. v. 353.)

Yet ſhe has oftener perhaps the humbler biga, or the car, drawn by two horſes, as in Homer. Thus to give an inſtance from the ſame reſpectable authority,

*Aurora in roſeis fulgebat lutea bigis.*

(Æn. 7. v. 26.)

And Tzetzes in his commentary upon Lycophron †, citing Homer, expreſſly calls Lampos and Phaeton the Horſes of the Day, *Ἡμέρας*. The biga was alſo the leſs aſpiring equipage of ſober Night, as I ſhall ſhew in a ſubſequent note ‡ of this play. Beſides this miſtake of the Scholiaſt of Sophocles, there is a remarkable exception to the eſtabliſhed opinion of the Sun's quadriga, which Montfaucon has inſerted

\* V. 246.

† V. 17. p. 3 & 4. ed. Potter.

‡ V. 1150.

in his *Antiquité Expliquée* <sup>7</sup> from Maffei, where the Chariot of this God, from which Phaeton has just tumbled, has only two horses: quoique tous les Anciens (as the Author justly observes) en assignent quatre au Soleil, & deux seulement à la Lune, comme dit Tertullien dans son livre des spectacles. The Moderns, as well as the Ancients, have in general been attentive to this circumstance: Thus Apollo in the celebrated picture by Guido Rheni, in the Palazzo di Rospigliosi at Rome, has his chariot drawn by four horses, and is improperly called the Aurora. But the Author of the *Polymetis*, observing the defects of Rubens in misrepresenting the allegorical persons of the Ancients, very judiciously remarks, "Such I should take the mean staring Apollo to be in a chariot drawn by two horses." (*Dial.* 18. p. 296.)

M<sup>o</sup> VII

Verse 161. Ἐπείσσει.

165. A Swan comes sailing.

THE original metaphor is here borrowed, like the *remigium alarum* of the Romans, from the oar, and applied to the Swan sailing in the air. The Græcian and Roman Poets often represent this Bird, as soaring on its wing: But this is not only a poetical idea, as many perhaps may be inclined to imagine, who have never themselves been spectators of the flight of Swans; but also a philosophical truth; I have been assured by a very eminent Naturalist now in England, that

<sup>7</sup> Tom. I. c. 9. p. 122. pl. 65.

he has often seen Swans in Norway and Sweden towering to a very great altitude in the air; and a learned Friend of unquestionable veracity informs me, that in the severe winter of 1745 many Swans to his knowledge came to Blenheim Park in Oxfordshire, which were never before seen in this country, and as he justly apprehends from the North; consequently they must have crossed the Seas. Olaus Magnus in his History of Northern Nations observes, that the Swans remain in these Countries as long as the warmth continues, till at last, being conquered by the severity of the weather, they raise themselves in air, and fly to the warmer regions, and one may see them elevated among the highest clouds<sup>1</sup>. Thus Thomas Bartholinus<sup>2</sup> in his Anatomy of the Swan informs us, that this Bird has its principal strength in its wings from the union of its tendons and porous bones: whence it often expands its wings, and particularly when the zephyr blows: Hence some are of opinion, continues he, that its sound was occasioned not from its mouth, but from its expanded and inflated wings: To this allude the following lines,

<sup>3</sup> Non canit affuetâ Cygnus vocalis in undâ,  
Ni Zephyri spirat mollior aura sibi.

The ancient idea of the musical quality of the Swan will be amply considered in the following note; but here I may examine the singular opinion, that the sound was derived from the wings and not from the voice. Besides the above passage

<sup>1</sup> Per altissimas nubes evolare cernuntur. L. XIX. c. 14. p. 660. ed. 1555.

<sup>2</sup> De Cygni anatome ejusque cantu. Ed. 1668. p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Here Bartholinus does not inform us of his authority for these verses; nor am I able at present to discover it.

Bartholinus has cited Nazianzen, who in one place<sup>4</sup> asserts, that the Swan sings, when it unfolds its wings to the air, while the whistling occasions the melody; and in another<sup>5</sup>, that it sings a sweet and harmonious strain, when the Zephyr inspires its wings. To this idea, adds Bartholinus, Statius probably alludes in that line of his first Sylva,

Clarique gaudentes plauserunt limina<sup>6</sup> cygni.

(V. 146.)

The above three mentioned passages are contained in a note of La Cerda<sup>7</sup> on the ninth Eclogue of Virgil<sup>8</sup>, to whom Bartholinus is probably indebted for them: but the inference, which is drawn by the learned Critick, is very different from that of the ingenious Naturalist: The former solves the ancient opinion of the harmony of the Swan from the whistling of its wings: The latter condemns it as a most ridiculous error; for no Philosopher of sound judgment in his opinion has ever taught, that the voice could result from the clapping of the wings<sup>9</sup>. It will be curious and interesting however to survey the additional authorities of the Ancients in support of this extraordinary notion, as it has never yet been done to my knowledge. Homer, or the author of those Hymns attributed to him, thus addresses Apollo:

Φαίεσε σε μὲν, καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερυγίων λίγ' αἰεῖδει,  
Ὀχθὴ ἐπὶ θρώσκων. (Odyss. & vol. II. ed. Clerke, p. 754.)

<sup>4</sup> The words in the original run thus:

Τίς ὁ κύκνος συνυφαίνει τὴν ᾠδὴν, ὅταν ἐκπύσῃ τὸ πλεὸν ταῖς αὔραις, καὶ ποιῇ μέλος τὸ σύμμιγμα. (Orat. 34. tom. I. p. 544. ed. 1630.)

<sup>5</sup> Ὅταν ἀνωμεν τῷ Ζεφύρῳ τὰς πτέρυγας ἱμπνῶν ἡδὺ τὶ καὶ ἱσαρμόνιον.

(Epiſt. I. Id. p. 763.)

<sup>6</sup> He cites it in Omina: but it is limina in my edition. Lug. 1671.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. III. ed. 1619. p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> (V. 29.

<sup>9</sup> P. 65.

The

The Swan, exulting on the bank, sings thee, O Phœbus, with a delightful <sup>10</sup> sound from under its wing. Thus I understand the expression in Apollonius Rhodius,

Κύννοι κηήσωσιν ἔνδ' μέλος.

(Argon. l. IV. v. 1301.)

To imply that the Swans by their motion produce their melody: But Aristophanes expressly alludes to this notion in the play of his Birds.

Τοιάνδε κύννοι

Τισιτισιτισιτίτιγξ

Συμμεγῇ ἑσὴν ὁμᾶ

Πτεροῖσι κρέκοντες, ἴσῃσιν Ἀπόλλω,

Τισιτισιτισιτίτιγξ. (v. 775.)

And Anacreon is explicit to this purpose,

Ἄγε τίς κύκνος Καῦσρε

Πολιοῖς πτεροῖσι μέλπων

Ἀνέμῃ σὺναυλον ἤχῃν. (Carm. 56. v. 33.)

As the Swan of Cayster, singing with its beautiful wings a strain in concert with the wind. Thus Philostratus<sup>11</sup> in the life of Apollonius informs us, that the Swans, which were fed in the meadow, formed a chorus round his mother, as she was sleeping, and raising their wings according to custom resounded in concert, for the Zephyr breathed at the same time

<sup>10</sup> Thus I have translated the word λίγα, for our Poet in his *Heraclidae* bestows this epithet on the flute, λίγαια λυτὰ χάρεις (v. 893.) and in his *Bacchæ* he calls the flute εὐκίλαδος (v. 160.) or sweetly sounding; consequently the former word λίγαια must also imply an agreeable tone: Besides Hefychius defines λίγα, λίγρεως, ἡδύς, which corresponds with the same idea.

<sup>11</sup> L. I. c. 5. p. 7. ed. Clear.

in the meadow: The same Author in one of his Images <sup>12</sup> asserts, that it is the wind of the Zephyr, which inspires the Swans with their song, and that the Swans expand their wings to receive this percussio: And in another of his Images <sup>13</sup> he observes, that the Swans made use of a gentle and obvious Zephyr, which is reported to conspire in concert with their mournful song. Theodorus Bishop of Tarsus, as contained in Photius <sup>14</sup>, expressly asks, whether the want of reason in Swans prevented them ever from singing with their wings; and Himerius <sup>15</sup> the Sophist, preserved in the same Author, asserts, that in a certain vernal meadow there was a Swan, who was ready to expand his wings to the Zephyr in order to sing. Chrysostom <sup>16</sup> also draws a comparison from Swans singing with their wings. If we descend to modern Authorities, in the Ornithology <sup>17</sup> of Aldrovandus, Politian is cited, as affirming that the Swan is declared never to sing, except when the Zephyr breathes, and the same Naturalist produces the following lines of another Author to this effect,

Sed, qui tenent arcana Naturæ, negant  
Audiri olorem, ni sonent Favonii.

He also observes from Pierius <sup>18</sup>, that among the Ægyptians a winged boy, representing the Zephyr, was painted as the symbol of song; for it is that wind which inspires and increases

<sup>12</sup> Paludes, l. II. c. 9. Id. p. 775.

<sup>13</sup> Rhæton, Id. p. 787.

<sup>14</sup> Bibliot. p. 686. ed. Schottus.

<sup>15</sup> Id. p. 1127.

<sup>16</sup> Orat. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Tom. III. l. 19, p. 31. ed. 1603.

<sup>18</sup> Cantilenæ vero signum videas puerulum alatum, qui ventus Zephyrus, is enim cantum Oloribus inspirat & elargitur: Pingitur vero is delicatus mollis, cujus modi est aura ejus, quam libenter aded captamus; Olorum verò plumæ identidem aflatu eo furriguntur, quippe quæ repercussu venti commoventur, (Pier. Hieroglyph. l. XXIII. p. 830. ed. 1602.)

the

the melody of Swans: He is depicted soft and delicate, like the gale, which we imbibe with so much pleasure; the feathers of the Swan are inflated by its inspiration, as they are moved by the percussion of the wind. Leland also in his *Κύκνειον ᾄσμα* seems in the following lines to allude to this notion.

Strepitum dedit sonorum  
Cygnorum niveus chorus canentum  
Concussis alacri vigore pennis.

Itiner. vol. IX. p. 19. ed. Hearne.

The reader may perhaps be astonished to find, that an idea of this extraordinary nature could prevail among so many different Authors, and in ages so remote from each other.

#### N° VII.

Verse 169. *Τὰς καλλιφθόγγας ᾠδαίς.*

170. Or thou wilt steep thy melody in blood.

SINCE the Animal Creation is uniform in the exercise of their faculties, implanted by Nature, the prevailing opinion of the musical power of the Swan among the Greeks and Romans arrests the attention of curiosity, and demands an inquiry into the nature of the evidence. When an ancient notion revolts against the reigning ideas of Mankind, we are too often disposed to reject the testimony of enlightened Nations, and to condemn it unheard, as a vulgar error: But Candour, unbiassed by prejudice, suspends her verdict, till the whole testimony, fairly stated, is impartially discussed.



The Poet, at liberty to rove in the fairy fields of imagination, feels even his Genius fettered in the regular path of Nature : He may create Centaurs and Chimæras, but he cannot counteract the established properties of Animals, exposed to the common eye of Observation. This opinion however of the harmony of the Swan is not the visionary dream of Ancient Poetry ; even Pagan Philosophy coolly and deliberately assented to it. Not only Virgil <sup>1</sup> celebrates his Patron Varus with wafting his fame to heaven by the melodious Swans of Roman Poetry ; but Plato <sup>2</sup> asserts, that the soul of Orpheus migrated into a Swan, which, like other musical animals, migrates also into the human form : And in his Phædo, when the friend of Socrates observes, that he is afraid of molesting him, so near the hour of his melancholy catastrophe, the Philosopher replies, “ I appear to you then inferior in divination even to Swans, for when they perceive themselves dying, though before often musical, yet are they then in a remarkable manner, exulting at their approaching visit to that God whose ministers they are : But Men on account of their own apprehension of death belie these Swans, and assert them to be particularly vocal from their lamentation <sup>3</sup>.” Not only Horace <sup>4</sup> calls Pindar the Dircæan Swan, and metamorphoses himself into the Bird of Melody <sup>5</sup> ; but Aristotle in his History of Animals <sup>6</sup> informs us, that Swans are musical and particularly at the approach of death ; he adds, that

<sup>1</sup> Ecl. 9. v. 29.    <sup>2</sup> De Rep. ed. Serran, vol. II. p. 620.    <sup>3</sup> Vol. I. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> L. IV. Od. 2. v. 25. And thus the Author of the following lines,

Θήσῃς ὠγυγίης Ἑλικώνιος Ἰσάδο κύκνος  
Πίνδαρος ἰμερόφωνος.

<sup>5</sup> L. II. Od. 20. v. 15.

<sup>6</sup> L. IX. c. 12.

many persons, sailing towards Libya, often met with those Swans in the sea singing with a mournful voice, and then saw them expire. Not only the Poetess Erinna is flattered by an Author in the *Anthologia* <sup>7</sup>, as possessing the voice of a Swan; but the Orator Crassus is complimented in the same manner by Cicero <sup>8</sup>, *Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox*; and he observes in another place <sup>9</sup>, that Swans are justly dedicated to Apollo, because they seem to derive their spirit of divination from him; and, foreseeing the happiness of death, chearfully expire with a song: And Philostratus <sup>10</sup> asserts, that as the Phoenix consumed in the nest sings the song, which ushers in its death, so according to the most accurate account of those, who have heard them, the Swans are said to do the same. Hence we discover, that this established notion of Antiquity was not only consecrated by the Poets, but had also the concurrent testimony of Philosophers. Since in support of this idea it would be superfluous to accumulate more passages, I will proceed to consider the ancient evidence, which questioned or opposed the veracity of the fact.

To begin with Ælian, this Author in his book on Animals asserts <sup>11</sup>, “that he is not able to affirm, how the Swan, whom many Poets, as well as Writers in Prose, make the Minister of Apollo, excels in the power of musical song; but the ancients were persuaded, continues he, that having sung, as it was called the Swan’s dirge, he then departed: And in his *Various History* <sup>12</sup> he remarks, that it is a frequent assertion, that Swans are musical; but he adds, that for his part

<sup>7</sup> L. III. c. 25. ep. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Tuscul. Disput. l. I. c. 30.

<sup>9</sup> De Nat. Anim. l. II. c. 32.

<sup>10</sup> De Orat. l. III. c. 2.

<sup>11</sup> L. III. c. 49. ed. Olear. p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> l. I. c. 14.

He never<sup>13</sup> heard one sing, nor perhaps any one else: It is however believed, that this animal does sing; and they affirm it particularly harmonious and vocal in the period, approaching its dissolution." Hence it appears, that Ælian only wavered in his own opinion on this subject; and this Naturalist in other parts of his works often mentions the general idea entertained of the melody of the Swan. Thus, after citing Aristotle, he adds<sup>14</sup>, "that this bird delights in fountains, lakes, pools, and other places, abounding with rivulets and water: and there the experienced Persons affirm, that it exercises its musical faculty:" In another passage<sup>15</sup> he observes, that Swans are subservient to Apollo, and according to report most musical: But he also relates the following anecdote: "When the Priests of the Hyperborean Apollo perform their sacred solemnity at the customary period, a prodigious number of Swans from the Ripphean mountains, after their flight round the temple for the purpose, as it were, of lustration, descends into the largest and most beautiful court of the temple: And when the singers in their language celebrate the God, and the Musicians attune their harmonious symphony, the Swans join the concert, and are so far from singing with dissonance and out of tune, that obeying, as it were, the instruction of the Master of the Band, they cooperate with the expert Performers of those consecrated hymns." In

<sup>13</sup> This passage is erroneously quoted by Barnes in his note on the *Helena* of our Poet, (v. 1115.) with the omission of the negative, so that Ælian is there said to have heard himself the song of the Swan; but the English Commentator is undoubtedly mistaken in his sense of the Græcian Author. This error is not peculiar to Barnes alone, for Cælius Rhodiginus has committed the same mistake. (l. IX. c. 5.)

<sup>14</sup> *De Nat. Anim.* l. X. c. 36. <sup>15</sup> *Id.* l. XIV. c. 13. <sup>16</sup> *Id.* l. XI. c. 1.

another

another passage <sup>16</sup> he reasons with all the solemnity of philosophy, and with the appearance of conviction from this received idea : "The Swan surpasses Man in things of the highest moment ; for he knows when life is verging to its end ; and in order to bear the approach of death with tranquillity, he has received the most delightful gift from Nature : Thus confident is he, that in death there is no unpleasant or painful sensation : But Man shudders at that, of which he is ignorant, and imagines it his greatest misfortune : Indeed so wonderful is the tranquillity in the Swan, that in the very catastrophe of its life it warbles, as it were, its funeral dirge." The next authority, which I shall mention on this subject, is that of Pliny <sup>17</sup>, who observes, "that by some experiments (which he supposes erroneous) the plaintive song of Swans on their death is reported : " He does not inform us what these experiments were : But we read in Athenæus <sup>18</sup>, " that Myndius Alexander, having pursued many Swans, who were dying, never heard them sing : " How this Philosopher discovered that these Swans were dying, it may perhaps be difficult to conjecture. The strongest testimony however of Antiquity against this general notion of the Swan's harmony is that of Lucian <sup>19</sup> ; who relates, " that he inquired of the sailors on the river Eridanus, when the Swans would begin to sing their harmonious tune ; to which they replied with laughter, that they, who had constantly sailed and worked on the river from their infancy, had never seen but a few Swans among the marshes, and those croaked very unmusically and weakly,

<sup>16</sup> Id. l. V. c. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus (falso ut arbitror) aliquot experimentis. (Nat. Hist. l. X. c. 23.

<sup>18</sup> L. IX. c. 11. p. 393. ed. Caufab.

<sup>19</sup> De Electro seu Cycnis, vol. III. p. 89. ed. Hemster.

so that crows and jack-daws in comparison of them were Sirens: But their sweet melody, as you represent it, add they, we never heard even in a dream; so that we are amazed how these fables concerning our country were invented among you." These I believe are all the passages in ancient Authors, which questioned or opposed the general testimony of this received opinion. I shall now proceed to collect the evidence of the Moderns, both in support of the notion, as against it.

The first authority in the order of Chronology is that of our Antiquarian Leland, who in 1545 published his *Κύκνειον ᾠσμα*, or Swan's Song: In this composition the following lines deserve our attention on this subject:

Aspice quâ pompâ Thamesinis fertur in undis  
 Isiacâ veniens Cygnus speciosus ab urbe;  
 Usque ducem placidè sequitur chorus almus ovantem;  
 Ille suas resono celebrabit carmine ripas,  
 Nomen et Henrici Regis feliciter amplum  
 Concenter sublime feret super æthera lætus;  
 Præbeat attentas auditor musicus aures,  
 Rara quidem Cygnum res est audire canentem;  
 Concinuisse tamen doctorum turba virorum  
 Prædicat, & melicæ vocis punctum omne tulisse.

(Leland's Itin. vol. IX. p. 6. ed. Hearne.)

The next evidence, which I shall mention, is that of Olaus Magnus, who in his History of Northern Nations<sup>20</sup> asserts, that the Swan modulates the sweetness of its song on account of its long and winding neck; which necessarily occasions the

<sup>20</sup> L. XIX. c. 14. De Cygnis, p. 660. ed. 1555.

voice to be sonorous ; that it sings less often than other Birds, except during the production of its young, or any great severity of cold, and that in the waters of the North ; he afterwards adds, that the Hunters know by experience, that these Birds are naturally delighted by the sweet song of the harp and pipe ; and therefore having formed the image of an ox or horse, or under one of these real Animals, they play near the shore, until the Swan approaching, and intent on its melodious voice, they plunge into its breast a point of iron fastened to a spear, and then draw it to shore by means of a string."

I come next to the great Naturalist of the 16th Century Aldrovandus, who has supported by these arguments in his Ornithology <sup>21</sup> the song of the Swan. " 1st, By the universal assent of the ancient Philosophers and Poets of the Greeks and Romans, since this must be supposed to have had some foundation. 2d, Because this Bird was the hieroglyphick of Musick among the Ægyptians, to whom the Græcians were indebted for their philosophy. This appears from the testimony of Orus Apollo <sup>22</sup>, who tells us, that when they wanted to represent an old musician, they depicted a Swan, as that in an advanced age sings the most enchanting melody. Pierius <sup>23</sup> Valerianus also asserts the same in regard to this hieroglyphick. 3d, Because the Swan was consecrated by the Ancients to Apollo, the inventor of Musick. 4th, Because distinguished Philosophers <sup>24</sup> deserve assent to their testimony,

<sup>21</sup> Tom. III. l. 19. p. 21. ed. 1603.

<sup>22</sup> Γέρωντα μασικὸν βυλόμενοι σημήναι κύκλῳ ζωγραφῶσιν· ἔτος γὰρ ἡδύτατον μέλος ἔχει γηρασκύν. L. II. c. 3. ed. Pauw, p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> Hieroglyph. l. XXIII. p. 228. ed. 1602.

<sup>24</sup> Demum quod viris philosophis nominatim clariss. & excellentiss. D. Frederico Pendasio, Phi-

timony, such as Frederick Pendasius, who asserted, that, as he was sailing on the lake of Mantua, he frequently heard Swans sing most melodiously : And George Braun attested, that near London<sup>25</sup>, a Mart of England, flocks of Swans receive the fleets entering with joyful acclamations in the sea, and welcome them with festive songs. The writings of Albertus declare, that he had observed the mournful strain of this Animal on any occasion of sorrow ; but I am of opinion, that they do not only sing through melancholy, but also in joy : And Antonius Musa Brasavelus attests, that he had remarked that some Swans would sing towards the conclusion of their life, but not all. 5th, Because some maritime Belgæ, as the Frisii, Batavi, and others adjacent to them, among whom, from the multitude of their lakes Swans are extremely frequent, call them in their vernacular

*Philosophiæ Professori celeberrimo, se Cycnos frequenter cantantes suaviter in lacu Mantuano cymbâ vectum audivisse asserenti, tanquam fide dignissimum non illibenter fidem adhibentes suffragamus : Georgius Braun Cygnos tentatur prope Londinum Angliæ emporium in mari agminatim læto occursum & festivis cantibus subeuntes classes excipere. Scribit item Albertus se hujusmodi voces lugubres in quâlibet tristitiâ ab eis edi animadvertisse ; Ego autem non in tristitiâ tantum eos canere existimo sed in gaudio etiam : Antonius Musa Brasavelus in Commento ad Porphyrum Isagag. Cycnos sub vitæ exitu canere sese observasse testatur, sed omnes id facere negat. (Tom. III. l. 15 p. 21.)*

<sup>25</sup> It is remarkable that Drayton speaking of the Swans on the river Thames says,

The Swans with musick, that the roothers make,  
Ruffling their plumes, came gliding on the lake.

Heroical Epist. vol. I. p. 349.

And Milton in his Latin Poem to the Marquis of Villa supposes the modulation of Swans on the Thames near the sea :

Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos  
Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,  
Quâ Thamefis latè puris argenteus urnis  
Oceanus glaucos perfundit gurgite crines.

Ed. Newton, vol. III. p. 671. v. 33.

tongue

tongue Huyler, which is a word not very unlike Olor, and is closely expressive of its propriety; for it signifies to lament, to cry, or to weep; by which they denote, that they utter a sort of plaintive song, and modulate it with a sweet lamentation: But because it appeared melancholy, the Poets therefore feigned, that it was adapted, as a funeral dirge to their death, and was sung by them in the approaching hour of dissolution, as presaging it. 6th, But I have often observed very accurately and myself heard Swans murmur a certain harmonious, but melancholy strain, so that the Syrians did not without reason suppose that Swans were Sirens, who after bathing in the water attune their pleasant melody; we will therefore with Pausanias conclude, that the glory of music is the property of the Swan. 7th. What rivets him in this opinion, is the remarkable and wonderful structure of the arteria aspera, or the windpipe in the Swan, first observed by him; on the properties of which he has expatiated, and has also delineated <sup>26</sup> the anatomy of it; and says that he is easily prevailed <sup>27</sup> upon to think the opinion of those more plausible, who maintain the melody of this Bird, and particularly at its approach towards death." Such is the outline of the testimony collected from Aldrovandus. Hence I pass to the evidence of Olaus Wormius, which is here stated, as extracted from his *Musæum* <sup>28</sup>. "There is no inconsiderable contention, says he, among Authors concerning the song of the Swan: Some, who have observed that they utter a harsh and disagreeable sound, attribute no sweetness to their song:

<sup>26</sup> Pl. 13, 14, 15. tom. III.

<sup>27</sup> Facile inducor ut verisimiliorem eorum esse credam sententiam, qui dulce melos præsertim morti vicinos cantare dicunt. Tom. III. l. 19. p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> B. III. c. 2. p. 357. ed. 1678. He cites Olaus Wormius *Musæum*, (b. III. c. 13.)



Others, paying regard to the relations of so many Poets and Historians, have not the least doubt of their melody: Even Aldrovandus inclines to this opinion, deducing his argument from the conformation of the aspera arteria, extremely adapted for the formation of all sounds. For my part, I will not conceal my own opinion: There was in my family a most respectable young Man, one Mr. John Rostorph<sup>29</sup>, Student in Theology, a Norwegian by Nation: This youth did upon his credit, and with the interposition of an oath, solemnly affirm, that himself in the Nidrosian territory did once by the sea-shore early in the morning hear an unusual and most sweet murmur, composed of most pleasant whistlings and sounds; as he knew not whence it came, or how it was made, since he saw no man near, who might be the author of this modulation, looking round about him, and climbing up to the top of a certain promontory, he beheld an infinite number of Swans, gathered together in a neighbouring bay of the sea, attuning this harmony; a sweeter than which in all his life he had never heard. By some Icelanders<sup>30</sup>, my Scholars, I have understood

<sup>29</sup> Erat in familiâ meâ juvenis honestissimus, D. Johannes Rostorphius, S. Theologiae Studiosus, Norvagus Natione; hic bonâ fide, interposito juramento, sanctè affirmavit se in tractu Nidrosiano ad littus maris summo mane insolitum ac suavissimum audivisse murmur sibilis ac sonis jucundissimè permixtum; quod unde, aut quo pacto excitaretur cum ignoraret, siquidem neminem vidit hujus modulationis authorem, undique circumspiciens & jugum promontorii cujusdam scandens, vidit Cygnorum multitudinem infinitam in sinu maris vicino conglomeratam harmoniam hanc modulantem, quâ suaviorem in vitâ nunquam audivit. Ab Islandis quibusdam meis discipulis percepi nihil hâc harmoniâ apud ipsos frequentius iis in locis ubi Cygni sunt: quod ideo adduco, ut præstantissimorum autorum de hâc cantione Cygneâ non vanam esse relationem vel modernis experimentis comprobari constet. *Musæum Wormianum*, p. 299. ed. Lugd. 1655.

<sup>30</sup> In the Letters on Iceland, containing observations made during a voyage in the year 1772 by Uno Von Troil, there are the following remarks on the Swans.

understood that nothing is more frequent with them than this harmony in those places, where there are Swans. I mention this circumstance, that the report of the most respectable authors concerning the song of the Swan may appear to be not unsupported, but even attested by modern experiments. Thus far Olaus Wormius.

The next authority, which I shall produce, is that of Thomas Bartholinus, who wrote a treatise on the Swan; I discovered this from a note of Harduin<sup>31</sup> on Pliny; and by an application to the Library of the British Museum, I found the book, corresponding to the title inserted in the note<sup>32</sup> below; hence I have extracted the following anecdotes on this subject. After an analysis of its anatomy, of which the first part of the treatise consists, he comes to the musical quality of the Swan: "To this<sup>33</sup>, says he, little credit is given by

Swans, as extracted from the translation of them into English, published in the present year: "They are said to sing very harmoniously in the cold dark winter nights; but though it was in the month of September when I was upon the island, I never once enjoyed the pleasure of a single song." P. 143.

<sup>31</sup> Res est ea discrepantibus inter se scriptorum sententiis dudum agitata; quam veritati demum asseruisse se existimat, vindicato cycnorum cantu, exemplisque recentibus confirmato, Thomas Bartholinus singulari opere de cycno, a sec. 44. ad 54. (Nat. Hist. l. X. c. 32. vol. I. p. 557.)

<sup>32</sup> Thomæ Bartholini Dissertatio de Cygni anatome ejusque cantu a Johanne Jacobo Benselino in Academiâ Hafniensi, nunc notulis quibusdam auctior edita ex schedis paternis a Caspare Bartholino Thomæ Filio, 1668. This Bartholinus was born at Copenhagen in 1616, and died in 1680: He was Professor of Mathematicks in that City, had also an anatomical chair, was the Physician of the King, and at last one of the Grand Council of Denmark: He published several works. See Nicéron. tom. VI. p. 131.

<sup>33</sup> Huic quidem a nonnullis parum habetur fidei; verum ita se rem habere testis ego oculatus, qui et meis auribus canentem audiui, & statim morientem videre affirma, sed id casu. Quicquid enim de cantu cygni dicatur, observavi diligenter ferè non canere nisi verno tempore, quo sæpe in litore maris nostri Hagæstædani & Holbecani tercentos simul concinentes, vel potius inconditum strepentes drensantesque audiui, suspicorque tum ad coitum invitari a maribus fœminas vel fœminas ova ponere. Aliàs prorsus mutos cygnos reliquo anni tempore per fluvios & maria nostra ferri observavi. (P. 69.)

some People; but that this is the truth I had myself ocular demonstration, and have heard with mine own ears a Swan sing, and affirm that I saw it instantly die; but this I impute to chance: whatever may be said of the Swan's song, I have commonly and accurately observed, that it never sings, except in the spring<sup>34</sup>; at which time I have heard at least 300 on the shore of the sea, bordering on Hagersted<sup>35</sup> and Holbec, singing or rather making an uncouth sound, and imagine, that the females are then invited by the males, or that the former are then laying their eggs: At other seasons of the year I have observed, that Swans in our rivers and seas are generally mute: Were I to produce more examples<sup>36</sup>, which are many and weighty, both in Iceland and Norway, obvious almost to all, I might extend my treatise to an infinite length: I will however cite one instance of the most creditable authority, which is that of a Student of Norway, and a friend of mine, George Wilhemi, who heard the same song with his ears; as he was walking by chance on a shady ver-

<sup>34</sup> It may not perhaps be unworthy of observation, that according to this idea of Bartholinus of the vernal song of the Swan Dionysius in his poetical survey of the world describes them as vocal in the spring,

Εἰαρος ὤρη  
Κύκων εἰσαίσις λιγυρὴν ὄπα. V. 834.

<sup>35</sup> A place near Copenhagen.

<sup>36</sup> Plura, si persequamur exempla, quæ magna & gravia sunt, & tum in Islandia tum in Norvegiâ quoque tantum non omnibus obvia, in infinitum possemus progredi. Unicum adhuc bonâ fide asseram de Norvegio quodam studio Georgio Wilhelmi amico meo, qui eundem quoque cantum suis hausit auribus: Is aliquando forte fortunâ in viridi & opacâ ripa inambulans advolantes ibi cygnos aliquot animadvertit, & viâ quâdam satis humili: Tum ille glandibus plumbeis expeditus ex eo agmine unum trajicit; deciditque iste illicô & moritur: At superstites socii fato solliciti in orbem convolare despicere sed & suaviter concinere, quasi lessum admodulantes tanto quidem & tam dulci modulamine, ut esset & ad videndum erectior & ad audiendum incitator: Historiam hanc postea clarissimis multis & eminentissimis viris seriò enarravit. (P. 70.)

dant

dant bank, he observed some Swans flying towards him, and at a small distance: Being furnished at the time with a gun, he shot one out of the flight, which instantly dropping expired: His surviving companions, concerned for his death, hovered round him in a circle, beheld him, and sung sweetly, attuning, as it were, their funeral dirge with so exquisite a modulation, that his curiosity was excited both to behold and listen to them: He afterwards seriously related this circumstance to many eminent and distinguished Men." The Author after this proceeds to produce other testimonies corroborating this assertion; "Paulus<sup>37</sup> Melissus Schedius Francus, an excellent Poet of his age, asserted, that he heard Swans sing most melodiously, where the cygnets are bred in the canals, as he was rowing in a boat on the Thames against the stream towards London, and he maintained the truth of this fact in the most solemn manner; Adamus Silesius in the description of his life mentions this circumstance. We also readily assent to the suffrage of other Men and those Philosophers of the most unexceptionable veracity." He then produces the testimony from Aldrovandus, which I have already cited; and afterwards adds, "that experience is the most irrefragable witness, that Swans are melodious in a wonderful manner: Let us hear Oppian, who was extremely diligent in observing the song of those birds; and he in his Halieu-

<sup>37</sup> Paulus Melissus Schedius Francus, vatum sui seculi princeps, se dulcissimè cantantes olores, cygneæ ubi in fossis aluntur, & deinde adverso Tamefi flumine cymbâ vectum versus Londinum omni asseveratione affirmabat; cujus meminit etiam vitam describens, 1615. Adamus Silesius. Aliis præterea viris philosophis, tanquam fide dignissimis, non illibenter habentes fidem suffragamur.

ticks<sup>38</sup>, or Piscatory Poems, asserts, that the rocks and valleys reecho to the song of the Swan, and of all Birds they are esteemed the most musical, and by that title consecrated to Apollo: They do not however sing with a plaintive note, as the alcedines, or king fishers, but with a sweet mellifluous strain, like a concert of soft instruments: In the sequel of his treatise he imagines, that from the soft melody of this modulation Antiquity<sup>39</sup> invented the fable of the mournful funeral dirge, presaging the instant period of its death: Upon the whole he concludes, that though many persons affirm that Swans would sing, yet several deny it; but this he declares is owing to the impetuosity of a frantick zeal, and to the influence of degenerate custom against experience and the testimony of those, who in investigating causes of this nature have bestowed much time and labour: And he adds, that many moderns assent to the opinion of those who maintain the fact." Such is the general outline of the curious information, contained in this treatise of Thomas Bartholinus: It is very remarkable, that this should have escaped the observation of many learned Men, such as Spanheim and Ernestus, Editors of Callimachus; the latter of whom furnishes us with other corroborating evidence to the same purpose in a note, printed at Leyden in 1761, on the following verse in the Hymn to Apollo of that Poet,

Ὅ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἡσέσι καλὸν αἰεῖδεν<sup>40</sup>. (v. 5.)

"In

<sup>38</sup> I have not been able to find the passage in Oppian here alluded to; but that Author in his Poem on Hunting mentions, that Swans are not the only Birds, who are musical Prophets of their death. (L. II. v. 548.)

<sup>39</sup> P. 63.

<sup>40</sup> This line is thus translated by Prior,  
And hovering Swans, their throats releas'd  
From native silence, carol sounds harmonious.

(Callim. Hymn to Apollo.)

There

“In addition”, says he, to those things, which are said by leaped Men, concerning the song of the Swan, it may not be improper to observe, that an Asiatick confirmed to me, that he in Asia had heard Swans when singing; and Paulus Vidalinus related to me, what he also publickly asserted in his panegyrick on the King of Denmark in these words: In regard to Swans, which I here mention for the sake of the learned, when I once heard my much respected Preceptor express his astonishment, that the Ancients had delivered down so many things, concerning the song of the Swan, whom no one in more modern times, either in these countries or in Italy, or in any region of Europe, had ever heard sing, I was surpris'd at this observation, as having often myself heard in my own country with pleasure the sonorous and pleasant voice of Swans: I was therefore extremely glad, that, as a witness both with mine own eyes and ears, I was

There is nothing in the original, which implies only that the Swan in the air sings charmingly, to justify the liberty of the English Poet in imputing to them native silence, contrary to the Græcian idea, and the express assertion of Callimachus in other passages; for in the Hymn to Delos he calls them the singing Musicians of the God (v. 249.) and the Birds of the Muses, the most harmonious of the winged choir, (v. 252.)

42 Ad ea, quæ de cygni cantu a viris doctis etiam dicuntur, non alienum sit dicere, mihi & hominem Asianum confirmasse, cantantes se in Asiâ audisse cygnos; & de Islândiâ retulit mihi Paulus Vidalinus, qui id etiam apud nos palam in oratione panegyricâ in Regem Daniæ narravit his verbis. Denique etiam cygni sive olores, quos eruditiorum gratiâ hic memorare libet, cum aliquem mihi dilectissimum quondam preceptorem audierim mirari, quod veteres de cantu cygneo tam multa prodiderint, quos tamen recentiori ævo nec in his locis nec in Italiâ, nec in ulla Europæ regione cantare quisquam audivisset, mirabar ego hunc sermonem, qui ipse in meâ quidem patriâ sonoram illam & amœnam cygnorum vocem sæpe non sine voluptate audiveram: quare valde gaudebam, quod ego ipse testis oculatus atque auritus hanc antiquissimam traditionem contra recentiorum dubia confirmare possem; ea autem fabula est, quod morti vicinas canat. (Ernestus in v. 5.) Hymn. in Apoll. Callim. (vol. I. p. 41.)

able to confirm this most ancient tradition against the doubts of the Moderns; but it is a fable that the Bird sings at the approach of death." These are the testimonies of more modern Authors, which tend to establish the received notion of the Ancients on this subject: But others have roundly and positively denied the veracity of the fact. Among these I find the names of Erasmus, Julius Scaliger, and Bodin, who all lived in the 16th Century: The former <sup>42</sup> declares, "that nothing in all Poetry is more generally celebrated, than the harmony of Swans; although no one had ever the fortune to hear this song." The next Critick <sup>43</sup> attributes the supposed melody of the Bird to Grace the Parent of Lies; and in another place <sup>44</sup> he observes, that at Ferrara he had seen many Swans, but that they were execrable songsters, and no better than Geese. The last Author <sup>45</sup> assents with Scaliger. Our own Countryman of the last Century in his book of Enquiries <sup>46</sup> into Vulgar and Common Errors, Dr. Brown, has included this in the number of them: and says, "that Authors, who countenance it, speak not satisfactorily of it: Some affirming, that they sing

<sup>42</sup> *Cygnos canoros esse sic omnium poetarum literis est decantatum, ut nihil sit celebratius, etiamsi nemini contigit hunc audiri cantum; nec desunt Philosophi, qui hujusce rei rationem quoque reddere conantur; Ælianus addit eos non canere, nisi flante Favonio, unde fertur etiam proverbium *ῥέξινος ἀσμα*, id est cygneæ cantio. (Erasm. Chil. I. Pent. 7. c. 22. p. 233. ed. 1558. R. Steph.) There is great inaccuracy in this citation, since Ælian never mentions the circumstance of the Swan's song, as occasioned by the Western Gale; nor do I understand how Erasmus collects the inference.*

<sup>43</sup> De Cygni vero cantu suavissimo, quem cum parente mendaciorum Græciâ jactare ausus es, ad Luciani tribunal, apud quem novi aliquid dicas, statuo. (Exercit. Exot. 232. contra Cardan. l. X. De Subtil.)

<sup>44</sup> Ferrariæ multos (Cygnos) vidimus, sed cantores sane malos nec melius ansere canere. (Cited in Bryant's Mythol. vol. I. p. 384.)

<sup>45</sup> In Methodo Historiæ.

<sup>46</sup> B. III. c. 27. p. 216. ed. 1658.

not till they die <sup>47</sup>; some that they sing, yet die not: some speak generally, as though this note were in all; some but particularly, as though it were only in some; some in places, and where we can have no trial of it; others in places, where every experience can refute it; as Aldrovandus upon relation delivered concerning the musick of the Swans on the river of Thames near London. Now that, which countenanceth and probably confirmeth this opinion, is the strange and unusual conformation of the wind-pipe or vocal organ in this animal, observed first by Aldrovandus, and conceived by some <sup>48</sup> contrived for this intention: But to speak indifferently, this formation of the weazon is not peculiar unto the Swan, but common also unto the platea or Shovelard, a bird of no musical throat; and, as Aldrovandus confesseth, may thus be contrived in the Swan to contain a larger stock of air, whereby being to be fed on weeds at the bottom they might the longer space detain their heads under water: But

<sup>47</sup> The composer of the Article (Cygne Mythol.) in the Encyclopedie, is guilty of this mistake, when he asserts, "Ou lui croyoit un ramage très melodieux, mais c'étoit seulement, lorsqu'il étoit sur le point de mourir." Various passages might be produced from the Classical Authors to refute this remark; but to give an instance only in one, Virgil says of Swans, which are not dying,

Cum sese e pastu referunt, & longa canoros  
Dant per colla modos. *Æn.* 7. v. 700.

<sup>48</sup> Thus Rittershufius in the note on Oppian, de Ven. l. 11. v. 544, quotes authorities to this purpose; Ideo autem suaviter, eum canere dicunt, quia collum longum & inflexum habet, & necesse est eluctantem vocem per longum & inflexuosum iter varias reddere modulationes, (Isidorus, l. XII. c. 7.) Ambrosius etiam collum cygnis hanc ipsam ob causam procerius a natura datum esse scribit, ut eo suavior & magis canorus per procera modulus colla distinguatur, & longiore exercitatione purior longe resultet, (l. v. c. 22.) Bartholinus in his treatise has minutely considered the anatomy of the Swan's neck, but he fairly acknowledges, that no inference can be drawn from any physical appearances in favour of the Bird's melody.

were



were this formation peculiar, or had they unto this effect an advantage from this part ; yet have they a known and open disadvantage from another ; that is a flat bill ; for no latrostrous animal, whereof nevertheless there are no slender numbers, were ever commended for their note, or accounted among those animals, which have been instructed to speak : When therefore we consider the dissention of Authors, the falsity of relations, the indisposition of the organs, and the immusical note of all we ever beheld or heard of, if generally taken and comprehending all Swans and of all places, we cannot assent thereto: Surely he that is bit with a tarantula shall never be cured by this musick ; and with the same hopes we expect to hear the harmony of the spheres." I shall now proceed to the testimony of Willughby, who in his Ornithology<sup>49</sup> has a chapter on the wild Swan, called also an Elk, and in some places a Hooper : Hence, says he, " what the Ancients have delivered concerning the singing of Swans, if it be true, which I much doubt, seems chiefly to agree to this Bird, and not to the tame Swan: For my part those stories of the Ancients concerning the singing of the Swans, viz. that those Birds at other times, but especially, when their death approaches, do with a most sweet and melodious modulation of their voice sing their own *nænia* or funeral song, seemed to me always very unlikely and fabulous, and to have been therefore not undeservedly exploded by Scaliger and others : Howbeit Aldrovandus weighing on both sides the arguments and authorities of learned Men hath (he saith) observed them to be equal ; wherefore to cast the scale, and establish the affirmative he thinks that wonderful structure of

<sup>49</sup> B. III. c. 2. p. 357. ed. 1678.

the windpipe, by him first observed, is of weight sufficient; but this argument, though it be very specious and plausible, yet doth it not conclude the controverſie; for that the wild Swan hath a very loud and ſhrill cry, and which may be heard a long way off, the Engliſh name Hooper impoſed upon it, as I ſuppoſe, from its hooping and hollowing noiſe, doth import: Hence it appears, how uncertain and fallacious a way of arguing it is from the final cauſe; for though Nature, God's ordering Miniſter, always acts for ſome end, yet what that is we are often ignorant, and doth not rarely fall out to be far different from what we fancy; nay we may be deceived, when we think we are moſt ſure, and imagine it can be no other than what we have preſumed: wherefore I make more account of the teſtimony he alledges as of Frederick Pendaſius, that affirmed, that he often heard Swans ſinging ſweetly in the lake of Mantua, as he was rowed up and down in a boat; but as for the teſtimony of George Braun, concerning flocks of Swans in the Sea near London meeting, and as it were welcoming the fleets of ſhips returning home with loud and chearful ſinging, it is without doubt moſt falſe: I never heard of any ſuch thing:" He then ſtates the teſtimony of Olaus Wormius, which I have before inſerted. The next Author, who challenges our notice, is Monsieur Morin, who has written a Diſſertation, inſerted in the fifth volume<sup>50</sup> of the *Histoire des Inſcriptions & des belles Lettres* on this ſubject, " why Swans, who formerly ſung ſo well, ſing at preſent ſo ill:" After aſſuming two propoſitions as granted, the ancient melody and the modern diſcord of this Bird, he inquires, whether the ſpecies may not have dege-

<sup>50</sup> *Memoires de Litterature*, p. 207.

nerated; whether their musick was not the effect of imitation in the festive times of ancient Græce; whether it may not have proceeded from the effect of climate, or whether there is not some error in the identity of this Bird: He conjectures that Swans may have been indebted for their pretended voice to Cynus, Son of Apollo, or to the marvellous relation of some Travellers; he asserts that in his time there were but few Swans in Græce; and they were then never seen or heard on the banks of Cayster and Mæander: and he concludes, that the whole is a fable, unsupported by any foundation in Nature; that the anatomical form of the neck of the Swan, resembling some musical instruments, the protection of the God Apollo, and the predominant qualities of the Heroes of the name of Cynus might have conspired to have formed the chimæra in the poetical brain: “Mais à quoi bon s’alambiquer l’esprit à chercher de la raison, ou il n’y en a point; ils ont fait chanter les Cygnes, comme ils ont fait parler les animaux; voilà tout le mystère, qui n’étoit apparemment pas inconnu à l’auteur de l’ancien proverbe Grec, qui porte que les Cygnes chanteront, quand les Geais cesseront de babilier ou de crier: c’est à dire jamais, parce que le babil est naturel aux oiseaux de cette dernière espèce”<sup>51</sup>. It happens unfortunately for Monsieur Morin, that he has drawn an erroneous inference from the Greek Proverb<sup>52</sup>; whose literal

<sup>51</sup> Id. p. 217.

<sup>52</sup> The words are, Τὸτ’ ἄσολαι κύκνοι, ὅταν κολοίσι σιωπήσωσι. They occur in Nazianzen at the end of his first Epistle, (tom. I. p. 768. ed. 1630.) And they are also mentioned in the note of Rittershusius on Oppian. (De Ven. l. II. v. 544. p. 781.) where he explains the meaning of the expression to imply, that there is no place for modesty and wisdom, when clamour and noise prevail: The words are also cited by the Dauphin Editor on Lucretius (l. III. v. 6.) who says, that the Proverb alludes to those who are loquacious, for whose garrulity there is no place among the learned.

acceptation specifies, that when the Jackdaws are silent, then will the Swans sing; which I understand to imply, that when the noise of Discord is hushed, the charm of melody may then be heard: The contrast is much the same, as is conveyed in the following lines of Shakespeare,

The nightingale, if she should sing by day,  
When every goose is cackling, would be thought  
No better a musician than the wren.

The next authority, which I shall mention, is that of the Author of the British Zoology<sup>53</sup>, who supposes "that the ancient idea of the musical quality of the Swan was ingrafted on the notion, that they were consecrated to Apollo and the Muses; and on the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals, as that of the Swan was allotted for the mansion of departed Poets: After the Ancients, continues he, had thus furnished these Birds with such agreeable inmates, it is not to be doubted, but they would attribute to them the same powers of harmony, that Poets possessed, previous to their transmigration; but the Vulgar, not distinguishing between the sweetness of numbers and that of voice, ignorantly believed that to be real, which Philosophers and Poets only meant metaphorically." I can by no means assent to these observations of Mr. Pennant, for the Swan I apprehend was consecrated to Apollo, and was honoured with the transmigration of the Poet, because the idea of its melody, whatever might be the foundation of it, had the established sanction of antiquity: This was therefore the cause, and not the effect of the other two notions, which

<sup>53</sup> Vol. II. p. 566 & 567.

flowed from it: Neither is it true that the Vulgar alone believed the harmony of the animal in a literal sense, while the Learned only meant it metaphorically: The authorities, already cited, are too numerous and respectable to admit of this construction, which rests only on unsupported conjecture. But Virgil, says this Ornithologist<sup>54</sup>, “when he speaks of Swans figuratively, ascribes to them melody or the power of music; but when he talks of them as birds, he lays aside fiction, and like a true Naturalist gives them their real note,

Dant sonitum-rauci per stagna loquacia Cycni.”

Æn. l. XI. v. 458.

This remark, which is also made by Monsieur Morin<sup>55</sup> in his dissertation, is at first sight more plausible, than in conclusion true: For Virgil paints the Swans, as singing melodiously, where he is not speaking metaphorically, and in a passage, which will serve to illustrate the true meaning of the epithet *rauci*: He compares in the seventh Æneid the embattled troops of the friends of Turnus, when marching regularly, and singing in array, to a snowy train of musical Swans,

Ibant æquati numero regemque canebant ;  
Ceus quondam nivei liquida inter nubila Cycni,  
Cum sese e pastu referunt, et longa canoros

<sup>54</sup> Vol. II. p. 567.

<sup>55</sup> Autre observation, qui paroît encore plus décisive, c'est que le Prince des Poëtes Latins Virgile, qui dans le stile poetique, & suivant la prevention populaire, les a honoré quelquefois d'épithètes mélodieuses, quand il en parle en Physicien & avec connoissance de cause, leur donne la qualité de *rauci*, & qui dans la vérité leur convient parfaitement.

Mem. de Litter. tom, V. p. 215.

Dant

Dant per colla modos ; sonat amnis et Asia longè  
Pulsa palus. (v. 702.)

All these in order march, and marching sing  
The warlike actions of their Sea-born King :  
Like a long team of Snowy Swans on high,  
Which clap their wings, and cleave the liquid sky ;  
When homeward from their watry pastures borne,  
They sing, and Asia's lakes their notes return.

Dryden, *Æn.* VII. 968.

The Roman Poet appears to have borrowed the original idea from Homer, though he has diversified the application of it: For the Græcian Bard, in order to convey to his reader the rushing tumultuous sound of the Græcian army, arranging themselves for battle, contrasts it with the mixed clangor, arising from the rustling wings of different Birds lighting promiscuously together,

Τῶν δ', ὥς' ὀρνίθων περὶ ξηρῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ,  
Ἰηρῶν, ἢ γεράωνων, ἢ κύκνων δαλιχόδεϊραν,  
Ἀσίῃ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦς ῥίε ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,  
Ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα πτόωνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερυγέσσι,  
Κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν.

Il. II. v. 459.

Not less their number than th'embod' d cranes  
Or milk-white Swans in Asius' watery plains,  
That o'er the windings of Cayster's springs  
Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling wings ;  
Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy rounds ;  
Now light with noise ; with noise the field resounds.

Pope, *Il.* II. v. 545.

F

Here

Here is no allusion to the voice of the Swan: but Virgil expressly applies the epithet *canoros*, or harmonious, to the notes of this Bird in his simile; and yet in the lines immediately subsequent the word *raucarum* occurs,

Nec quisquam æratas acies ex agmine tanto  
Miseri putet, aeriam sed gurgite ab alto  
Urgeri volucrum raucarum ad littora nubem.

(V. 705.)

Here we must understand the word *raucarum* consistently with the preceding *canoros*; for the musick of the troops could not at the same time resemble the sweet melody of the Swan, and the jarring dissonance of other Birds: It must therefore be so qualified as not to affect the harmonious tone of the Swan, unless we should confine the comparison to the equal<sup>56</sup> order of the arrangement of the troops contrasted with the train of Swans, and suppose no allusion in the first lines to the voice of this animal; but this I think would be a forced construction, and contrary to the plain import of the words,

Ibant æquati numero, regemque canebant,  
Ceum quondam &.

(v. 699.)

Yet Dryden and the other Translators have been guilty of this inconsistency in regard to the epithet *raucarum*.

Not one, who heard their musick from afar,  
Would think these troops an army train'd to war;

<sup>56</sup> According to this idea Mr. Warton says in his note, that some of the Ancients have imagined, that the embattling an army was first learned from the close manner of flight of these birds: so that in this simile we must suppose the noise to be but a secondary kind of likeness: order is primarily pointed at. (*Æn.* VII. v. 897.)

But

But flocks of fowl, that when the tempests roar,  
With their hoarse gabbling seek the silent shore.

Dryden, *Æn.* 7. v. 972.

Not one, who heard the loud confus'd alarms,  
Had thought this noisy train a host in arms;  
But some huge cloud of clamorous fowls, who soar  
Among the cliffs, and scream around the shore.

Pitt, *Æn.* 7. v. 904.

But this qualified limitation of the word *raucarum* does not solely rest on the above passage in Virgil: The same epithet is applied by him in his first Eclogue to the soft Ring-dove,

*Nec tamen interea raucae tua cura Palumbes,  
Nec gemere aeriâ cessabit Turtur ab ulmo.*

(V. 59.)

Here then, by the same analogy of reasoning, as Mr. Pennant has drawn his conclusion in regard to the Swan, and from the same respectable authority of Virgil, this Pigeon, whose notes that Ornithologist in his *British Zoology*<sup>57</sup> mentions, as mournful or plaintive, must be allowed to have a hoarseness of sound; yet Mr. Warton has thus translated the above lines,

Nor the soft-cooing dove, thy fav'rite bird,  
Mean while shall cease to breathe her melting strain,  
Nor turtles from th'aerial elm to plain.

(Virg. *Ecl.* 1. v. 74.)

<sup>57</sup> Vol. I. p. 296.



There yet remains another passage, which will serve as an additional illustration, that the word *canoros* and *raucarum* are not incompatible. The Poet of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, which poem has by some been ascribed to Catullus, in a description of the most delightful images of the Spring has these beautiful lines,

Et canoras non tacere Diva jussit alites ;  
Jam loquaces ore rauco stagna cygni perstrepunt,  
Adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi.

And now the Goddess bids the Birds appear,  
Raise all their musick, and salute the year ;  
Then deep the Swan begins, and deep the song  
Runs o'er the water, where he sails along ;  
While Philomela tunes a treble strain,  
And from the poplar charms the list'ning plain.

Thus Parnell has admirably translated these lines, where we may observe, that not only *canoras* and *rauco* occur close together, but the Nightingale joins the concert with the Swans *loquaces ore rauco*; which are the express epithets, both used by Virgil in that passage of the 11th *Æneid*, cited by Morin and Pernant,

Piscesove amne Padusæ  
Dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni.

(V. 458.)

The Roman Poet here compares the various confusion among the different Latians of different ages and sexes on the formidable approach of the hostile army of *Æneas* to the mingling found of many birds,

Like

Like that of Swans remurmuring to the floods,  
Or Birds of diff'ring kinds in hollow woods.

Dryden *Æn.* xi. v. 696.

Hence we may fairly collect from the above investigation of this curious topick of classical inquiry, that the epithet *rauci* <sup>58</sup> does not always and necessarily imply a hoarse unmusical grating dissonance; but may be understood, and is so designed by Virgil and the Author of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, to express only a louder compass or a deeper tone of harmony, resulting from the mixed concert of collected Swans. Thus Hesiod alludes to their resounding powers of voice,

Κύννοι ἀερισπύονται μέγαλ' ἥπυον.

Scut. Her. v. 316.

And Euripides in his *Electra* <sup>59</sup> confers the epithet of ἀχέτας, or the sonorous, on the Swan, while in this passage of the *Ion* he speaks of their charming melody,

Τὰς καλλιφθόγγας ᾠδαίς,

As in his *Iphigenia in Tauris* he expressly calls this animal melodious,

Ἦδωρ

Κύνκειον, ἔνθα κύκνος μελωδός

Μέσας θέραιπύει. (v. 1105).

<sup>58</sup> Since I wrote the above criticism, I have had the satisfaction to discover, that Servius in his learned comment on Virgil has remarked on the passage in the 7th, and also on that in the 11th *Æneid*, that the word *rauci* will imply harmony as well as discord: *Raucum τῶν μίσων* est, sicut grave olens; nam legimus, graviter spirantis copia thymbræ: Sciendum tamen *Pervigilium* secundum morem provinciæ suæ locutum, in quâ bene canentes cycnii *rauciores* vocantur. (Ed. P. Stephens, 1532. *Æn.* 7. p. 487.) *Rauci* autem τῶν μίσων est, nam modo canoros significat, aliàs voces pessimas: Juvenalis, *Rauci Theseide Codri*: Sicut venenum & de bono & de malo dicitur, ut odor malus & bonus vocatur. (Id. *Æn.* xi. p. 644.)

<sup>59</sup> V. 151.

Thus the Author of an Epigram in the Anthologia<sup>60</sup> speaks of the μελιθρὺς κύκνος: For I readily admit that the ancient Poets, both Greek and Roman, were not uniform and constant in regard to their descriptions of the particular tone assigned to the Swan; but I deny that any Author among them, except Lucian, ever considered it as unmusical and dissonant, according to the modern idea. There is an epigram in the Anthologia of Antipater, where the feeble note of the Swan is contrasted with the loud vociferation of the Jackdaw,

Λωϊττερος κύκνου μικρὸς θροὸς, ἢε καλόνων  
Κρόγγμος. (L. III. c. 25. ep. 69.)

These are translated by Lucretius with this difference, that he has opposed the Crane to the Swan instead of the Jackdaw,

Parvus ut est Cyni melior canor, ille Græum quam  
Clamor, (L. IV. v. 183.)

On these passages the Author of the new System of Ancient Mythology has the following observations<sup>61</sup>: “The Watermen in Lucian give the preference to a Jackdaw; but Antipater in some degree dissents, and thinks that the Swan has the advantage; and Lucretius confesses, that the screaming of the Crane is not quite so pleasing; which however is paying them no great compliment.” I cannot assent to the above inference drawn by Mr. Bryant: For if these passages are examined relatively to their respective places, they will be found to imply the contrast of Melody and Discord: The former is an elegant encomium on the Græcian Poetess Erinna, whose

<sup>60</sup> L. VII. ep. 173.

<sup>61</sup> Vol. I. p. 384.

sweet concise and immortal poetry is opposed to the dull voluminous and perishable works of other Authors; and the latter, applied by Lucretius to his own verses, is preceded by the decisive line,

*Suavidicis potius quam multis versibus edam.*

(L. IV. v. 181.)

Consequently in both these cases an elegant brevity is contrasted with a clamorous prolixity. But this Author proposes to solve the origin of the fable, regarding the harmony of the Swan, by referring it to a Colony of Canaanites, whose *insigne* was a Swan: "In all places, says<sup>a</sup> he, where they rested, they were famous for their hymns and musick; all which the Greeks have transferred to Birds; and supposed that they were Swans, who were gifted with this harmony; yet sweet as their notes are said to have been, there is not I believe a person upon record who was ever a witness to it; it is certainly all a fable." If the evidence *flowing* from the several sources of information in this Essay be admitted, this assertion of Mr. Bryant, that there is no historical testimony, resulting from the evidence of the senses to support this idea, must be abandoned. The whole for our more easy contemplation of it may be collected under one general point of view in the following manner. All the Ancients unanimously assent to the harmony of the Swan, except *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Myndius Alexander*, and *Lucian*: The first of these, *Ælian*, in one passage only wavers in regard to his solemn belief, though in several others he appears to accede to the prevailing opinion: The second, *Pliny*, is inclined to disbelieve

<sup>a</sup> Vol. I. p. 380.

the experiments made in order to ascertain the supposed funeral dirge of this animal : The third, Myndius Alexander, attempted to refute this notion of the dying Swan's melody by other experiments of his own : And the fourth, Lucian, considers and burlesques the whole as a visionary fable. On the contrary, all the other Poets and Philosophers of Græce and Rome adopted the general opinion of the vocal power of the Swan ; and though they often differed in regard to the particular tone, yet they all considered it as musical ; The most received idea, attached to the note, was that of a sweet melodious and melancholy plaint,

Cum liquidam tollunt lugubri voce querelam.

Lucret. l. 4. v. 550.

The softness of this song was supposed to increase as the Bird advanced in age : Hence Euripides in his Hercules Furens draws a comparison from this aged Songster,

Κύκνος ὦς, γέρον ἀοιδός,  
Πολύων ἐκ γενύων,  
Κελαδήσω. (v. 694.)

And Martial among the qualities bestowed on his deceased Mistress celebrates her, as sweeter than old Swans,

Puella senibus dulcior mihi cycnis.

Ep. l. 5. ep. 38. v. 1.

He also addresses the Favourite of the Emperor Domitian with this wish, that he may enjoy the musick of ancient Swans,

Sic semper senibus fruare cycnis.

Ep. l. 9. ep. 42. v. 2.

This

This enchanting melody was peculiarly exquisite in the last moments of the expiring Swan; and to this idea Æschylus refers in his Agamemnon,

Κύνε δίκην

Τὸν ὕστατον μέλιν' αἶσα θανάσιμον γόν. (v. 1454.)

That like the Swan warbled her dying notes.

Potter, Agam. vol. II. p. 115.

This Mr. Bryant <sup>63</sup> imagines to allude to Egyptian and Canaanitish Priests, who lamented the death of Adon and Osiris. The Roman Poets, as Ovid <sup>64</sup>, Statius <sup>65</sup>, Martial <sup>66</sup>, Seneca <sup>67</sup>, have often adopted this flattering idea to embellish their descriptions: And Æsop has made the Swan, as musical near its death, the subject of two of his fables <sup>68</sup>. The idea of the harmony of this Bird was so universally riveted both among the Greeks and Romans, that Κύνειον <sup>69</sup> ᾄσμα, and cycnea <sup>70</sup> cantio became proverbial expressions. This is the general amount of the ancient testimony. If we recapitulate, in a summary manner, the modern evidence, we shall find that Leland and Olaus Magnus believed it: Aldrovandus has

<sup>63</sup> Anal. of Ant. Mythol. vol. I. p. 381.

<sup>64</sup> Sic ubi fata vocant, udis abjectus in herbis,  
Ad vada Mæandri concinit albus olor.

Epist. 7. v. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Nec foli celebrant sua funera cygni.

Sylv. 1. 2. v. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Dulcia defectâ modulatur carmina linguâ,  
Cantator Cynus funeris ipse sui.

L. 13. ep. 77.

<sup>67</sup> Dulcior vocem moriente cygno.

Hippol. 5. 302.

<sup>68</sup> C. 74 & 75.

<sup>69</sup> Diogen. Cant. v. 37. Vat. Appen. 2. 21. Strom. 1068. See Schot. Proverb. Græca, p. 222, 284, & 632.

<sup>70</sup> Lucret. l. II. v. 504. & l. 3. v. 7. Virg. Ecl. 9. v. 36. Hor. Carm. l. 4. Od. 3. v. 20.

added

added to his own knowledge the asseveration of Frederick Pendasius, George Braunt, Albertus, and Antonius Musa Brafavelus, who declared it on the evidence of their senses : Olaus Wormius, besides the assertion of several of his Scholars, who were Icelanders, mentions the attestation of John Rostorph upon oath : Bartholinus to his own observation on the vernal song of the Swan has annexed the personal experience of George Wilhelmi, and Paulus Meliffus Schedius Francus : And Ernestus has cited the testimony of an Asiatick, and of Paulus Vidalinus. These are the Authors and Witnesses of more modern times, who acknowledge and support the ancient idea of the harmony of the Swan : And it is remarkable, that the expression of the Swan-song is used to this day, as proverbial in Sweden, to express any great éclat of a person, when taking his last farewell. On the other hand, in opposition to these authorities, Erasmus, Julius Scaliger, Bodin, Dr. Brown, Willughby, Morin, Pennant, Bryant, consider this supposed song as a visionary notion without any natural foundation to support it. Since the sole object of this discussion was to collect and arrange both the ancient and modern evidence on this curious subject of Natural Philosophy, the Author having no prejudice to flatter, or favourite system to establish, leaves the Reader entirely to himself, without attempting to influence his opinion, to draw that conclusion, which his own judgment will impartially suggest.

## N° VIII.

Verse 186. Ἀγυαΐτιδες.

Nor the altars

185. That grace her streets.

THESE altars of Athens derive their appellation from the title of Aguius, applied to Apollo, under which character he is addressed by Æschylus<sup>1</sup>, Aristophanes<sup>2</sup>, and our Poet in his Phœnissæ<sup>3</sup>: The Scholiast there explains it, the God placed before the vestibule; and adds, that he was thus represented, as a pillar terminating in a sharp point. The Scholiast of Aristophanes, concurring in the above interpretation, remarks that among the Athenians the altars before the houses were called Ἀγυαίς: Thus Sophocles, continues he, transferring this Athenian custom to Troy, says,

Δέμπει δ' Ἀγυαῖς ἑωμῶς.

And he cites a line from Pherecrates to shew, that the God was worshipped under this name. Eustathius in his comment on the second Iliad<sup>4</sup>, in a passage quoted by Barnes, corresponds in the same account of this consecrated column in honour of the vestibulary Apollo. Thus Horace invokes him in his Carmen Seculare, as Lævis Aguius<sup>5</sup>. Pausanias mentions no less than five statues of this God in the territories of Arcadia<sup>6</sup>, and one at Argos<sup>7</sup>; and he observes<sup>8</sup> that what

<sup>1</sup> Agam. v. 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Vesp. v. 870.

<sup>3</sup> V. 634.

<sup>4</sup> V. 12.

<sup>5</sup> V. 28.

<sup>6</sup> L. VIII. c. 32 & 53.

<sup>7</sup> L. II. c. 19.

<sup>8</sup> L. V. c. 15.

the



the Athenians termed στενωπὲς, narrow passages, the Eleans called ἀγυαίς. Macrobius<sup>9</sup> asserts, that all the streets intrā pomærium were called ἀγυαί.

## Nº IX.

Verse 188. Διδύμων προσώπων.

187. Of both her Children.

AS this passage is among the most difficult in Euripides, and according to my opinion has never yet been explained, I flatter myself, that the Reader will indulge me with a little time in the investigation of it. Before I deliver my own interpretation, I am obliged to discuss those opinions, which former Commentators have already entertained of it. Barnes understands these two words, as alluding to the two eyes of the Chorus, contemplating the objects before them; but this construction is extremely forced and prosaick; and he imagines, that the altars of Apollo and Bacchus now presented themselves to these Athenian Women; this supposition is founded on conjecture alone, without any authority to confirm it. Brodæus refers this expression to two figures of Apollo and Diana; and these, according to Heath, were painted on the walls: This idea is far more probable than that of Barnes; but it also rests on vague surmise without any historical testimony to support it; for they have not shewn, that there were such particular statues or pictures in the portico of the Delphick Temple. Among a prodigious

<sup>9</sup> Saturn. l. I. c. 9.

number of statues within the *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure of Delphi, Pausanias enumerates some of Apollo and Diana; but these could not be the objects, to which the Chorus now alludes in their present state of vicinity to the Grand Edifice: This Antiquary also speaks of several Images of Divinities, such as Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting Sun, Dionusus, and his Thyades, represented *ἐν αἰτοῖς*<sup>10</sup>, on the eagles

<sup>10</sup> L. 10. c. 19. In order to ascertain the precise meaning of *αἰτοῖς* the eagles, I am obliged to have recourse to the definition of Grammarians, and the established usage of the word in those Authors, who have adopted it. Hesychius defines *αἶλος*, a little wave projecting on the top of a building, (*vox αἶλος & γειῶσον*): Suidas asserts, that the roofs of temples were denominated wings or eagles; thus, he adds, it occurs in Aristophanes, "we will raise the house quite to the eagle," (Suidas *vox αἰλώμαλα & Arist. Aves, v. 1110.*) The Scholiast on this line of the Comick Poet gives a similar definition of it, and cites the Agamemnon of Ion. There is also another explication of the word by Galen on Hippocrates, "the triangular extension of the roof in its elevation:" This is cited by Stephens in his Lexicon on the word *αἶτωμα*; and on the authority of Eustathius he assigns the reason of the expression, because it represented the form of a flying eagle; "therefore the same eminences or pinnacles were called wings:" And he also defines the eagles of buildings, "a part on the roof," (Appendix ad Thef. Græc. Lin. *vox. αἶλος & αἶτωμα.*) Now for authorities in support of this term: I find in Pindar,

*Θεῶν τοῖσιν βασιλῆα.* (Olym. Od. 13. v. 30.)

The Scholiast here expressly refers the allusion to the eagle placed on the temples, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τιθέμενος*; and we may collect from the ode, that this ornament was of Corinthian invention: Pausanias will also in other passages, where the same word occurs, serve to illustrate his own meaning: In one place he tells us, that on the pillars of monuments there was an addition, corresponding to the eagles on temples (l. 7. c. 7. p. 120.) In another, speaking of a temple of Minerva, he observes, that the Statues of Hercules and Victory stood on the eagles at the extremities, (l. 2. c. 11. p. 137.) And in another, describing the Olympick temple at Elis, he asserts, that its altitude to the eagle is 68 feet, (l. v. c. 10. p. 398.) The Romans adopted this term of architecture from the Græcians, and annexed a corresponding idea to their aquila: Thus Tacitus applies it to the Capitol, *Mox sustinentes fastigium aquilæ*, (Hist. l. 3. c. 71.) And Martial expressly contrasts the eagle of Jupiter on the summit of the Theatre with the smaller bird of the same species on the house of a private Citizen,

Illic

eagles of the Temple : I prove in my reference below, that this expression in architecture alludes to some ornament on or near the summit of a building ; and consequently, as the eyes of the admiring Chorus were undoubtedly directed to two grand distinguishing objects, arresting their attention in or before the Portico of the magnificent structure sacred to Apollo, two detached figures from several others on the elevated eagle could not in my apprehension be now selected by them ; but on this authority the English Translator has grounded the propriety of his version. The Oxford Editor of Euripides, lately published, understands these two words, as referring to two fronts of the same Delphick Temple ; and for an authority of the word *πρόσωπον*, applied in this sense to architecture, he cites the *πρόσωπον τηλαυγές* of Pindar : If we turn to the passage <sup>11</sup>, we shall discover that the Lyrick Poet there compares, under an allegory, his Ode to a magnificent palace, and having mentioned the golden pillars, supporting the vestibule, he adds, that a splendid front is necessary : This respectable testimony of the use of the word *πρόσωπον* is sufficient to establish the sense ; and the return of the sen-

Illic Orphea protinus videbis  
 Udi vertice lubricum theatri,  
 Mirantesque feras, avemque regis,  
 Raptum quæ Phryga pertulit Tonanti :  
 Illic parva tui domus Pedonis  
 Cœlata est aquilæ minore pennâ.

(L. 10. ep. 19. v. 11.)

The term is not unknown even to the Moderns ; for an article in the *Encyclopedie* thus explains it ; “ Aigle (en Architecture) c’est la représentation de cet oiseau, qui servoit anciennement d’attribut aux chapiteaux, comme à l’ionique de l’église des P. P. Barnabites de Paris.” The reader will pardon the number of citations, in order to fix the true idea of this ancient expression, since the Commentator in this passage has the misfortune to differ from the English Translator.

<sup>11</sup> Olym. Od. 6. v. 5.

tence, which opens with the admiration of the stately columns and the altars, appears more naturally to allude to the architecture than to the statues of the Temple: I do not therefore object to this acceptance of the phrase, proposed by Dr. Musgrave; but I cannot admit his construction, because it appears from the whole scene, that the Chorus was near enough to the grand front of the Delphick Temple to discern the objects, then represented in the Portico; and consequently, as their eye was then situated, two different fronts of the same edifice could not present themselves to their contemplation. I proceed therefore to offer the following explication. There is no authority, so respectable in the illustration of Ancient Authors, as the testimony of their Contemporaries; if this be derived from those, who have expressly treated the same subject, the evidence becomes impressed with an additional sanction: Hence it follows, that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are certainly the ablest Commentators reciprocally of each other: Now the Eumenides of Æschylus open with the same scenery, as the Ion of Euripides; and both present the vestibule of the Delphick Temple: The Pythian Priestess in the former, after having solemnly addressed the Prophetick Powers, who had there presided, invokes Apollo himself, as the object of her adoration, and then immediately adds,

Παλλὰς Προναΐα δ' ἐν λόγοις προσβέβηται. (v. 21.)

Nor less Pronæan Pallas

Demands her meed of praise.

(Potter, Æsch. vol. II. p. 229.)

Hence

Hence we collect, that at Delphi there was either a temple or statue of Minerva Pronæa; which expression implies the vestibulary Goddess, or the Goddess before the temple: The Scholiast, confirming this idea, cites a corresponding line from Callimachus, which proves, that the Delphians erected a temple or statue in honour of Minerva Pronæa:

Χ'ῆ Παλλὰς Δελφοί νιν ὅθ' ἰδρύοντο Προναίην.

The sacred enclosure of this Goddess at Delphi under the same appellation is also mentioned by Hesychius<sup>12</sup>; which is rather in favour of a temple instead of a statue: but the Author of another Lexicon, the Etymologicum<sup>13</sup>, alludes to a statue of Minerva Pronæa at Delphi: Having therefore established this historical fact on the basis of such respectable authority, I proceed to apply the inference: The Chorus of these Athenian Women, having their minds naturally impressed with the magnificence of their native Athens, and particularly with the celebrated temple of their tutelary Deity, the Parthenion of Minerva, are astonished on their arrival at Delphi with the superb edifice of Apollo, and with the corresponding shrine of their own favourite Deity; or with the respective statues of Apollo and Minerva. It appears from Pausanias<sup>14</sup>, that there was a statue of the Pythian Apollo at Athens; he also mentions, that behind the Parthenion there stood a statue of Minerva, made of ivory and gold, and just behind it an Apollo of brass by the famous Phidias: The same Author also enumerates among the statues at Delphi<sup>15</sup>, one of Apollo near Minerva; and im-

<sup>12</sup> Προναίᾶς Ἀθηναῖς τίμιος ἐν Δελφοῖς.

<sup>13</sup> Προναία Ἀθηναῖ, ἀγάλματός ὄνομα.

<sup>14</sup> L. I. c. 24. p. 57 & 58.

<sup>15</sup> L. 10. c. 18. p. 840.

mediately

mediately after he mentions an image of Hercules in brass, engaged with the Hydra : It is remarkable, that this is the next object specified in the following lines of Euripides : Here therefore the Chorus compares either the temples or the statues by the expression of διδύμων προσώπων ; which literally implies either the two fronts or the two faces : If the former, the allusion refers to the architecture of the Delphick temple of Apollo, and the Delphick shrine of Minerva Pronæa ; if the latter, then any of the two corresponding statues of these Divinities, just mentioned, are the two objects which now engage their attention : In both cases the comparison is derived from their sudden recollection of the local beauties of their native Athens, contrasted with those of Delphi now before their eyes : Such is my interpretation of this difficult passage, which the local knowledge both of Athens and Delphi could alone unravel. It would here be my inclination to conclude my remarks on this subject ; but to remove any future objection of Criticism against this construction, I feel myself under the necessity to annex the subsequent observations. The very derivation of the word Προναία Pronæa, implying the Goddess before the shrine, ascertains the precise situation of this temple, or statue of Minerva at Delphi, as immediately before, or opposite to the temple of Apollo : But there was also at Delphi another temple of the same Goddess Minerva, adored under a title, extremely similar in sound, but very different in signification ; I mean that of Προνοία, Pronœa, the Goddess of Providence : Since this circumstance has occasioned a confusion among the most eminent Criticks for many centuries, perhaps unparalleled in any other instance, lest any error, arising from them, should

hereafter be produced to affect my interpretation, it becomes essential to collect the whole evidence together. We read in Herodotus<sup>16</sup>, that when the Barbarians under Xerxes, who was marching to destroy the temple of Delphi, advanced to the shrine of Minerva Προνοίας, Pronœa, the Goddess of Providence, thunder fell from heaven, and acclamations were heard from the shrine of the Pronœan Goddess. The original expression of Προνοίας, corresponding to my translation, was erroneously rendered into Latin by Laurentius Valla<sup>17</sup> in the fifteenth century, as the Vestibulary Goddess: But this error is still more remote, for Harpocraton asserts, that Herodotus in his eighth book calls Minerva Προμήτης Pronœa: and he defines the word Προνοία as the Minerva at Delphi, so denominated from her situation before the temple, or from her foresight at the parturition of Latona: The former part of this derivation is evidently absurd; for that must apply to Προναία, Pronœa; and the latter only to Προνοία, Pronœa; since Minerva could never be called the Goddess of Providence from standing before the temple. The chief substance of the article in Harpocraton is copied by Suidas<sup>18</sup>, and inserted into two paragraphs, retaining the same absurdity in-

<sup>16</sup> L. 8. c. 37 & 39.

<sup>17</sup> Ubi Barbari properantes pervenere ad phanum Minervæ, quod est ante templum, (Herod. l. 8. ed. 1494. Ven. p. 112.) I call it an error in Laurentius Valla, because his Translation departs from the Greek text; and in Harpocraton (vox Προνοία) because he cites it erroneously: But in the edition of Herodotus by Gronovius in 1716, it is printed Προναίας, (l. 8. c. 37. p. 471.) and in the edition of Wesselingius Προμήτης and Προναίας, (l. 8. p. 636.) This Editor, and alio Gronovius, has again inserted the word in the first book of Herodotus; where, according to their readings, a large shield is suspended in the temple of Minerva Pronœa at Delphi, ἐν δὲ Προμήτης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι, (p. 47. and p. 39.) But this passage, as printed in the edition of Gale, only alludes to the Vestibule of Delphi, without any specification of the title of the Divinity, ἐν δὲ προμήταις τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. (l. 1. c. 92. p. 39.)

<sup>18</sup> Vox Προνοία.

herent in the definition ; but with this variation, that Herodotus is more justly, though not correctly, cited, as having written *Προνοίην*<sup>19</sup> : Harpocration also observes, that other Historians, as well as Staphylus in his work regarding the Æolians, had written concerning the vestibulary Goddesses *Προνηίη* ; and he cites Æschines in his oration against Ctesiphon, as an authority for the Goddesses of Providence *Προνοία*. It is true, that the passage is thus to be found, as printed in Æschines<sup>20</sup> : And Stanley is certainly mistaken, when he imagines, in his note on the line of Æschylus, before cited from the Eumenides, that, instead of *Προνοία* in this passage of Æschines, we ought to read *Προναία* : Because Demosthenes expressly informs us, that in all cities there are altars and temples of all the Gods, and among them that of Minerva *Προνοία*, the Goddesses of Providence, as a great and excellent Deity ; that near Apollo at Delphi there is a most beautiful and spacious temple of her, as you enter *εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*<sup>21</sup> into the temple ; but, continues he, there is no temple of the Goddesses Impudence, *Ἀπνομία*, which, as put in opposition to *Προνοία*, establishes the genuine reading of that word in this passage, and as we may fairly infer in that also of Æschines. Hence it appears, that at Delphi Minerva had her temple, as adored under the title of *Προνοία* Pronœa ; but it has already been shewn, that she had also one under her other title of *Προναία* Pronœa : consequently there were two distinct shrines in honour of this Goddesses ; and the scite of the former according to Demosthenes was at the entry of the Delphick Tem-

<sup>19</sup> It ought to be *Προνοίην*.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. Taylor, vol. I. p. 406.

<sup>21</sup> *Παρά τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Δελφοῦς κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος νεὺς εὐθύς εἰσιόνῃ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, (Orat. cont. Arist. 1. ed. Taylor, vol. 2. p. 476.)



ple: But Dr. Taylor in his note on this passage, after having cited Herodotus erroneously, as having written *Προνοίας* instead of *Προνοίης*, concludes, that the Minerva at Delphi was the Vestibulary Goddess, and not the Goddess of Providence; yet at the same time he admits, that this supposition is irreconcilable with the spirit and contrast of the text in Demosthenes; and confounded with the weight of testimony he loses his patience and his candour: “Quid igitur dicemus? An erravit Simius ille Demosthenis, antiquitatis veræ ignarus & vocabulorum similitudine deceptus cum hæc scriberet? Illud quidem asserere non audeo, cum paria ferè habeat Æschines de coronâ & probè sciam multa in vetustis Scriptoris reperiri posse simili ἀμφιβολίᾳ quasi ad ludibrium posterorum referta; statuant ergo de hac re, qui me otio & eruditione superant <sup>22</sup>.” Without pretending to any degree of erudition, approaching to that of this eminent Scholar, I will embrace his advice of affording a little more leisure in the investigation of this subject, which has never yet been explained, though it has exercised the pen of many accomplished Criticks. Besides the authorities already cited, Diodorus Siculus in a passage of the same history, corresponding with that of Herodotus, mentions Minerva the Goddess of Providence at Delphi according to the original reading of *Προνοίας*; but his last Editor Wesselingius <sup>23</sup> has substituted *Προνοίης* into the text on the supposition of Meursius: This Critick in his *Lectiones Atticæ* <sup>24</sup> has a chapter on this subject; and he there erroneously decides, that the Minerva at Delphi was Pronæa, or the Vestibulary Goddess only, and

<sup>22</sup> Vol. II. p. 417.

<sup>23</sup> L. II. Sect. 14. p. 415.

<sup>24</sup> L. 2. c. 17. Thesaur. Antiquit. Græcor. ed. Gronov. vol. v. p. 1820.

that

that the other Minerva Pronœa, or the Goddess of Providence, was worshipped at Athens: He therefore corrects Diodorus Siculus and Pausanias in order to correspond with this idea; and is not conscious of the decisive evidence which flows from Demosthenes in opposition to this opinion. I shall defer the consideration of the testimony of Pausanias, till I have mentioned other authorities still remaining, which establish the separate existence of Minerva Goddess of Providence at Delphi. Plutarch<sup>25</sup> speaks of some Suppliants, who were slain in the temple of this Minerva Pronœa; and Eustathius<sup>26</sup>, in his comment on the third Odyssey, informs us, that according to the history of Demetrius Phalereus Menelaus dedicated the necklace of Helen to Minerva Pronœa at Delphi: This Goddess is defined by Phurnutus<sup>27</sup>, as the intelligence of Jove, synonymous with his Providence, and he adds, that temples are erected in honour of her. I come now to Pausanias, who speaking of four temples at the entrance<sup>28</sup> of the city of Delphi mentions that of Minerva Pronœa, Goddess of Providence, as one of them: But according to his account the sacred enclosure of the Delphick Temple<sup>29</sup> of Apollo was on the highest part of the City. Here too the original reading of Προνοίας has been altered into that of Προναίας the Vestibulary Goddess, not only by Meursius, but also by Spanheim<sup>30</sup> in his comment on Callimachus, and by Stanley in his note on the Eumenides<sup>31</sup> of

<sup>25</sup> Προνοίας. (Reip. Geren. Præcep. ed. Xylan. vol. 2. p. 825.)

<sup>26</sup> Cited in Meursius. De Reg. Lac. c. 5.

<sup>27</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 20. ed. Gale, p. 184.

<sup>28</sup> Εἰσελθόντι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν - ὁ τεῖχος δὲ Ἀθηναῖς καλεῖται Προνοίας. (l. 8. c. 8. p. 816.)

<sup>29</sup> Ὁ ἱεὺς περιβόλος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνυάτω τῷ ἄγεώς ἐστι, (Id. p. 818.)

<sup>30</sup> In Lav. Pall. v. 121. tom. 2. p. 701. ed. Ernest.

<sup>31</sup> V. 21.

*Æschylus*: But this conjecture appears without foundation in my opinion for the following reasons; because the same word thrice occurs in *Pausanias* in the space of a page, and without any variation of a different reading; and yet he appears to be informed of the distinction of the two words, as he speaks in another place of two statues of Mercury and Minerva Προνάοι <sup>32</sup>, Vestibulary Deities done by Scopas near Thebes; because it already appears, that the Goddess was adored under both the distinct names of Pronæa, and Pronœa at Delphi; and it seems absurd, that if the site of this temple was at a considerable distance from the Delphick temple, it could have been that of the Vestibulary Goddess, which expression fixes the situation, as immediately before the grand edifice. The reader will now discover the propriety and necessity of entering into this elaborate detail, lest the passage of *Pausanias*, thus corrected by these eminent Criticks, should have been produced against my interpretation; whereas the whole evidence, resulting from the above investigation, confirms it, and the truth derived may be concisely stated as follows. *Æschylus*, *Callimachus*, *Hesychius*, and the Author of the *Etymologicum*, prove a Minerva Pronæa, or Vestibulary Goddess at Delphi; *Herodotus*, *Demosthenes*, *Æschines*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, prove a Minerva Pronœa, or a Goddess of Providence at Delphi: But the site of the temple, belonging to the latter, is differently described by *Demosthenes* and *Pausanias*; since the former represents it at the very entrance of the Delphick Temple of Apollo; but the latter at the entrance of the city

<sup>32</sup> L. 9. c. 10. p. 739.

of Delphi. If we admit in this instance the testimony of Demosthenes, and the expression of διδύμων προσώπων here alludes to objects of architecture, then as two different temples could not both be opposite to the grand edifice, instead of the temple of Minerva Pronæa, the Vestibulary Goddess, we must admit that of Minerva Pronæa the Goddess of Providence to be now in the contemplation of the Chorus: But if in preference we accede to the authority of Pausanias, then the temple of the Goddess of Providence could not from its situation now engage the attention of the Athenian Women: and therefore the temple or statue of the Vestibulary Goddess will be the immediate object, arresting their admiration. Hence I flatter myself it will appear, that not only the present passage in Euripides is unravelled, but all those emended Authors, whose works have in this instance been corrected by the ablest Criticks, are fortunately rescued from the necessity of emendation.

## N° X.

Verse 192. Ὁ Διὸς παῖς.

188. The Son of Jove.

THE figures of Hercules and his Charioteer Iolaus, in the attitude of destroying the Lernæan Hydra, are here represented in statuary, or painted on the walls of the Delphick Temple: And afterwards in this Play <sup>1</sup> Hercules is expressly

<sup>1</sup> V. 1144.

said to have made an *ἀνάθημα* or offering at the Delphick shrine after his conquest over the Amazons: The labours of this celebrated Hero are also described in another part of the Ion<sup>2</sup>, as embroidered in the Delphick Tapestry. In all these circumstances it will appear from the following discussion, that Euripides is guilty of an anachronism: To prove this assertion, I must calculate the precise æra of Chronology, at which the period of the Drama may be fixed by the standard of the best evidence. According to the Arundelian<sup>3</sup> Marbles Erechtheus the sixth King of Athens, Father of Creusa and Grandfather of Ion, followed Pandion in the Kingdom of Attica 1423 years antecedent to the birth of CHRIST; and he was succeeded by Cecrops the Second, who is there said to reign 1373 years prior to the same period; so that the reign of Erechtheus is made to consist of the very extended term of fifty<sup>4</sup> years. We shall find in the sequel of the Play

<sup>2</sup> V. 1162.

<sup>3</sup> These valuable monuments of Antiquity were brought from Constantinople by Thomas Earl of Arundel in the year 1627, first published by Selden in 1628, then by Prideaux in 1676, after they had been presented to the University of Oxford by Henry Howard then Earl of Norwich: This edition of them was more correctly reprinted by Maittaire in 1732: To the comment on the first Marble is here annexed a Canon Chronicus ad Epochas Marmoreas maximam partem ad mentem Johannis Seldeni, (p. 443.) This is also inserted in a New Chronological Synoptis of Squire, annexed to his Essay on the Ancient Greek Chronology, printed at Cambridge in 1741: Hence I have deduced the dates, which are here mentioned. These Arundelian Marbles have been again published in 1763 at Oxford with still greater accuracy in the Marmora Oxoniensia by Chandler; where the Reader, by adding 264 years in order to supply the term till the Christian æra to the respective number of years, opposite to the respective periods there inserted, will be satisfied of the accuracy of their correspondence to these calculations.

<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable, that four successive Kings of Attica are supposed to have reigned collectively 180 years. Erichthonius 50. Pandion I. 40. Erechtheus 50. and Cecrops II. 40. (See Mæurs De Reg. Ath. l. 3. c. 16.) And

Play <sup>5</sup> an exprefs assertion, that Erechtheus was now dead: consequently we may fairly begin our calculation from the acceſſion of his Succeſſor to the throne of Athens, 1373 years preceding the Chriſtian æra; for Creuſa may be ſuppoſed in Euripides to have undertaken this Journey to Delphi about that time: If therefore we add to the above number of years 1373 (A. C.) the time elapſed ſince the birth of CHRIST 1780 years, we ſhall then arrive at the fair point of Chronology of the Play, which will amount to 3153 years eſtimated to the preſent period. But I ſhall prove in the Alceſtis <sup>6</sup>, where Hercules is one of the principal Characters of that Play, that its æra of Chronology is only removed 2965 years from the current year of this century, conſequently it follows the Ion by the difference of 188 years: Yet here is Hercules ſuppoſed by the Poet to have accompliſhed his labours, therefore probably dead, though in the Alceſtis alive: And indeed it is generally allowed, that this renowned Hero of Græce only flouriſhed one generation prior to the memorable expedition of the Greeks againſt Troy, which in the Arundelian Marbles is 1218 years before CHRIST: This will correſpond with Homer <sup>7</sup>, who mentions in his catalogue of ſhips Tlepolemus the Son of Hercules among the Græcian Leaders: But Mneſtheus, who commanded the forces of Attica againſt Troy, was the eleventh King of Athens; ſo that four entire reigns had elapſed, and a fifth was running between him and Erechtheus: While ac-

And yet this very extended term has been exceeded by the reigns of the four laſt Kings of France, Henry IV. Louis XIII. XIV. and XV. for from the acceſſion of Henry IV, in 1589, to the death of Louis XV, in 1774, there was a term of 185 years.

<sup>5</sup> V. 282.

<sup>6</sup> See my Note on V. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Il. 2. v. 658.

cordova

according to Eusebius <sup>1</sup>, the birth of Hercules to Amphitruo at Thebes was only 80 years, prior to his calculation of the capture of Troy; and you must allow this hero a certain time for the execution of his illustrious exploits. There is a clear anachronism therefore in Euripides of more than a whole century. The comparative chronology between the Ion and the Bacchæ may be seen in my note on (V. 2.) of the latter, where I shall prove, that the æra of that play is removed 3259 years from the present period; consequently it precedes this of the Ion by the difference of 106 years; but the Ion precedes the Alceſtis by 188 years.

## N° XI.

Verse 195. Πῦρ ἄνδρ' ἐκ πυρίφλεκτον.

192. That snatches from the fire the blazing brand.

HERE Barnes observes, that the Hydra is no where else represented with wings: It must be allowed, that there is truth in this observation; for I know of no instance, except one, which I shall presently mention from Milton, where wings are assigned to this fabulous monster: Its most common representation is that of a prodigious snake: Thus Palæphatus <sup>1</sup> expressly calls it *Λερναῖος ὄφις*: And Virgil <sup>2</sup> and Ovid <sup>3</sup> both describe it as a serpent. Our Poet in his Her-

<sup>1</sup> Num. Euseb. 826.

<sup>2</sup> De Incred. Hist. c. 39. ed. Gale, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Lernaëus turbâ capitum circumlitit anguis.

Æn. 8. v. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Quæque redundabat fecundo vulnere serpens.

Epist. 9. v. 95.

Pars quæ Lernaë serpens eris unus Echidnæ?

Met. 1. 9. v. 69.

cules

cules Furens bestows the epithet of ἑλειον <sup>4</sup> upon it, as inhabiting the marshes. An engraving of Hercules, killing a snake with many heads, corresponding to this idea, may be seen in Drakenborch's edition of Silius Italicus <sup>5</sup>; another in Montfaucon <sup>6</sup>; two others in Spanheim <sup>7</sup> upon coins; and another in the Polymetis of Spence <sup>8</sup>: This Author observes, "that the old Artists differ, in their manner of representing the Hydra: sometimes it is a serpent branched out into several other serpents; and sometimes a human head, descending less and less in serpentine folds, and with serpents upon it instead of hair: The Poets seem to speak of both, though they have perhaps been generally understood only of the former <sup>9</sup>." He might also have added that at other times the Ancients represented it, as a terrible beast: Thus Virgil paints it,

Bellua Lernæ .

Horrendùm stridens.

Æn. l. 6. v. 287.

And Pausanias <sup>10</sup> informs us, that he imagines it to have been a beast: Euripides in his Hercules Furens twice <sup>11</sup> calls it a dog. But, whatever was its poetical form, it is generally described to have been destroyed by fire, either by Hercules himself, or by the assistance of his auxiliary <sup>12</sup> Companion and Charioteer <sup>13</sup> Iolaus: Hence the propriety of the epithet πυρίπλεκτον here applied, which corresponds with the description of our Author in another of his plays, where he

<sup>4</sup> V. 52.

<sup>5</sup> l. 2. p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Antiq. Expl. tom. I. pl. 133.

<sup>7</sup> De Præst. & usu Numism. Dissert. 3. p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. 18. fig. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Dial. 9. p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> Corint. l. 2. c. 37. p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> V. 420 & 1274.

<sup>12</sup> Παράσάτης, as called in the Heraclidæ,

v. 50 & 126.

<sup>13</sup> Ἡΐων (Hef. Scut. Her. v. 77.



uses the term ἐξεπύρωσε <sup>14</sup> to imply that Hercules quelled the monster by flames. In the same manner Seneca,

Quid fæva Lernæ monstra, numerosum malum,  
Non igne demum vicit? (Her. Fur. v. 242.)

Instead therefore of πῖλον winged, Barnes proposes to read πυρσὸν a torch; and then Iolaus in this Delphick Temple will be here represented in the picturesque attitude of lifting this burning torch: The alteration is certainly ingenious; nor is the objection to it of the Italian Translator Carmeli well founded, that the epithet πυρίφλεκτον from its passive signification cannot be applied to πυρσὸν: for why cannot the torch be said to be burnt with fire without supposing it entirely consumed? There is no absolute necessity however for any amendment, since, as the Hydra was so much the creature of poetical imagination,

Gorgons and Hydras and Chimæras dire,  
Milton, Par. Lost, b. 2. v. 628.

Euripides may be indulged with describing its wings; and it is remarkable, that Milton seems in the following lines to have assigned wings to the Hydra, perhaps on the authority of this very passage in Euripides,

Though new Rebellions raise  
Their Hydra heads, and the false North displays  
Her broken league to imp their serpent wings.  
(Sonnet. 15. v. 8. ed. Newton <sup>15</sup>, vol. III. p. 525.)

<sup>14</sup> Her. Fur. v. 421.

<sup>15</sup> In the printed copies (says the Editor in his note) it is,

To imp her serpent wings,

but serpent wings refer to the same as Hydra heads.

Yet notwithstanding this authority I am inclined to admit the propriety of an alteration in this passage, according to the idea of Barnes, for this reason; because Hercules in the preceding lines has already destroyed the Hydra; therefore a new poetical image will be here introduced by this uplifted torch of Iolaus. Since this amendment of our English Editor, a learned Foreigner, Pierſon, in his Liber <sup>16</sup> Veriſimilium, has purſued this idea; and has not only ſuggeſted other objections to the preſent reading; but has alſo offered a very fortunate conjecture of his own: Inſtead of *τῶανόν* he propoſes to read by the omiſſion of a ſingle letter, *τᾶανόν* <sup>17</sup>, which he proves on the authority of a fragment of Euripides, preſerved in Julius Pollux <sup>18</sup>, and alſo from Euſtathius <sup>19</sup>: He likewiſe produces a paſſage from Quintus Calaber, where Hercules and Iolaus are both repreſented: the former, as cutting off the head of the Hydra, the latter, as burning it,

‘Ο δὲ καὶ σιδήρῳ  
Ἀιθομένῳ. (L. 6. v. 211.)

He alſo cites another authority from Nonnus, where Iolaus is deſcribed as raiſing the torch,

*Δαλὸν ἀΐζοντα.* (Dion. l. 25. p. 632. ed. Wech.)

<sup>16</sup> This book, printed at Leyden in 1752, was written by the Author at an early period of life, for he died before he had completed 30 years: The performance has great merit; but one is aſtoniſhed to find at the opening of it ſo unjuſt a character of Joſhua Barnes, Ipſe Barneſius, homo mediocriter Græcè doctus, Euripidi non minus, quam Homero edendo, ſi quis alius, impar fuit: Quod latius demonſtrarem, niſi cum viris eruditiffimis hæc in parte mihi conveniret; inter quos dudum conſtat Barneſius in Tragediis pauca, in fragmentis nihil præſtitiffe, imo illa lacerâſſe, ſecâſſe, uſſiſſe: Cerrè indigna eſt hæc editio laude, quam re minimè exploratâ arbitri parum idonei largâ manu in eam contulerunt, (p. 2.)

<sup>17</sup> Ver. Lib. p. 3 & 4. Dr. Muſgrave has admitted this emendation into his printed text. <sup>18</sup> L. 10. ſeg. 117. <sup>19</sup> Il. 4. p. 1189.

Hence

Hence if the Reader do not acquiesce in the *πυρσόν* of Barnes, or in the *παιών* of Pierson, I offer, as a conjecture of my own, *δαλόν*: And it is very remarkable, that in another line of this play (as appears from the note of Dr. Musgrave on V. 1313 in his edition) the word *πῆανοῖς* is there erroneously substituted in one manuscript by an obvious mistake, instead of *δαλοῖς*. It may also be added to the authorities already cited in favour of the amendment, that Ausonius, in his account of the labours of Hercules particularly mentions the torch, when he speaks of the destruction of the Hydra,

Proxima Lernæam ferro & face contudit Hydram.

Idyl. 19.

And, when Palæphatus<sup>20</sup> explains this story, he says, that Iolaus burnt the towering Hydra.

## Nº XII.

Verse 211. Παλλάδ' ἐμὸν Θέον.

204. I see my Goddess.

EURIPIDES embraces every opportunity, in compliment to his Athenian Spectators, of celebrating their favourite and tutelary Deity Minerva: She is here, and in two other passages of this play<sup>1</sup>, represented in her character of the Giant-slayer: Thus she is called by Phurnutus<sup>2</sup> *Γιγαντοφόνις*, and by Lucian *Γιγαντοκτενίς*<sup>3</sup>: A figure of this

<sup>20</sup> De Incred. Hist. c. 39. ed. Gale, p. 49.

<sup>1</sup> V. 997 & 1529.

<sup>2</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 20. ed. Gale, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. III. Philop. p. 593.

military Goddess may be seen in the Supplement <sup>4</sup> of Montfaucon to his *Antiquité Expliquée*. The particular object, against whom Minerva is here engaged, is the Giant Enceladus, as in Horace,

Enceladus jaculator audax  
Contrà sonantem Palladis ægida.

(L. 3. Od. 4. v. 57.)

There is a noble sublimity in this scene, where the objects before the Delphick temple are described: The Reader must therefore be amazed, that the Pere Brumoy, who acknowledges them, as *de vraies beautés*, should add, “*mais peut-être trop simples pour le gout présent* <sup>5</sup> :” I am at a loss to conceive in what the supposed simplicity of Euripides here consists, since the imagery is richly coloured, the attitudes finely diversified, and the drapery very luxuriant: If, as the French Critick conjectures, Virgil borrowed from this passage the hint of his temple at Carthage in the first *Æneid*, or of Dædalus at Crete in the sixth, it must be confessed, that in the first instance he has improved on the original idea; but the Roman Poet, as there are no striking features of marked imitation, is perhaps only indebted to his own sublime Genius. There is a greater resemblance to Euripides in the description of the temple of Jupiter Ammon by Silius Italicus; for he has there painted the labours of Hercules, and among the rest that of the Hydra,

In foribus labor Alcidæ, Lernæa recis  
Anguibus Hydra jacet.

(Pun. L. III. v. 32.)

<sup>4</sup> Tom. I. l. 3. c. 7. pl. 40. fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. V. p. 99. Ion.

And Claudian has represented the Giants within the temple of Jupiter at Rome,

Juvat infrà tecta Tonantis  
Cernere Tarpeîa pendentes rupe Gigantes.  
(De Sex. Conf. Hor. Car. 28. v. 45.)

I can by no means accède to the supposition of Dr. Musgrave<sup>6</sup>, that Euripides here paints by an anticipation in the order of time the Delphick Portico, which was erected by the Athenians in the fourth year of the 87th Olympiad; since this supposed anticipation in violation of all Chronology and Probability would be infinitely too violent, nor would it be justified by a similar instance in this play as he imagines: See my Note (on V. 1160) where I have given a different construction of that passage; and have shewn the absurdity resulting from it.

### Nº XIII.

Verse 216. Βρόμιος ἄλλον.

Another earthborn monster falls beneath  
209. The wand of Bacchus.

THE character of Giant-slayer belonged also to Bacchus, as well as to Minerva: Thus he is here represented, and called Γίγαντοκλέτης in the Anthologia<sup>1</sup>: To this idea Horace in his ode to him alludes,

Tu cum parentis regna per arduum  
Cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,  
Rhœcum, &c. Car. 1. 2. Od. 19. v. 23.

<sup>6</sup> See his note on V. 221, in his edition.

<sup>1</sup> L. 1. c. 38. ep. 11.

We learn from Diodorus Siculus the real history of this fabulous engagement of the Gods and Giants: He informs us, "that Dionusus in a rapid passage from India to the Mediterranean met with the whole collected force of the Titans, who were passing over into Crete against Ammon; that Jupiter had come from Ægypt, as an ally to Ammon, and a great war arising in the Island, the troops of Dionusus, Minerva, and other reputed Gods immediately passed over: A battle ensuing, the party of Dionusus was triumphant, and the Titans were vanquished: When Ammon and Dionusus were afterwards translated from their mortal into an immortal State, Jupiter, according to tradition, reigned over the whole globe, the Titans being extinct, and no other person impiously presuming to contest the sovereignty with him." L. 3. sec. 72. p. 243. ed. Weffel.

## N° XIV.

Verse 221. Οὐ θέμις ᾧ ξέναι.

223. Strangers, this is not permitted.

ACCORDING to the idea of Dr. Musgrave<sup>1</sup>, this is the first time where Ion addresses the Chorus; for to this moment he has been only a silent auditor of their conversation: The Oxford Editor endeavours to support this opinion on the following arguments: Because he imagines, that Ion, instead of the former appellation of "Friend<sup>2</sup>," addressed to the Chorus, would have used the expression of "Strangers," as in this line: Because the salutation<sup>3</sup> of the Chorus to Ion,

<sup>1</sup> See his note (on v. 186.) in his edition.

<sup>2</sup> V 193.

<sup>3</sup> V. 219.

and their question<sup>4</sup>, if they might interrogate him, were perfectly unnecessary, if they had already conversed with him ;” he therefore supposes the former part of the dialogue in this scene to have been held partly by the whole Chorus and partly between the two Semichoruses, and not between Ion and the Chorus : He also divides the metre differently, into Strophe, Antistrophe, and Anapæsts ; Mr. Tyrwhitt<sup>5</sup> imagines Ion to have retired from the stage into the temple just before the entry of the Chorus, and to enter again, when the Chorus addresses him in line, (218) : According to his idea the Chorus is instructed in regard to the objects in the Delphick Portico by their Coryphæus, or Leader. I confess, that I cannot correspond with these innovations. The first objection of the Oxford Editor appears to me too refined, for why should not Ion address the Female Chorus under the engaging expression of Friend ? And where is the impropriety that the Chorus should ask permission, before they demanded a question of that nice delicacy which involved the truth or falsehood of the report, that the temple of Delphi was the central spot of the earth ? This was an interesting and important fact, as I shall shew in my next note : but the subject of the figures in the Portico was an object of publick notoriety, and open to every enquiry : It seems also improper to suppose, that the Coryphæus, or Semichorus, equally strangers with the other Semichorus at Delphi, should be endowed with such superior knowledge, and local information beyond their Female Companions, as to be able to unfold all the different subjects, which presented themselves

<sup>4</sup> V. 220.    <sup>5</sup> See the Note of Dr. Musgrave on v. 245. of his Edition.

to their present contemplation. There is also an interruption in the arrangement of Dr. Musgrave's metre by Anapæsts in the mouth of Ion in the last Antistrophe, which destroys its uniform correspondent appearance with the preceding Strophe.

## Nº XV.

Verse 224. Ἄρ' οὕτως μέσον ὀμφαλὸν γαῖς;

Whether this Temple's scite

216. Be the earth's center?

THE question, which the Chorus here demands of Ion, whether the Delphick Temple contained the central navel of the Earth, was of a very delicate nature: The best illustration of it will be the translation of Plutarch in the opening of his dissertation<sup>1</sup>, "Why the Oracles had ceased to give answers:" "There is an old story, that two Eagles<sup>2</sup> or Swans, flying from the opposite extremes of the Earth to the center, met in that very spot at Delphi in the place now called the navel: In process of time Epimenides the Phestian, willing to prove the veracity of this fable, consulted the Deity, and reported this obscure and equivocal answer, "There is neither "center of the Earth nor Sea; but if there be, it is known "only to the Gods, and concealed from Mortals<sup>3</sup>." Thus

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Xylan. vol. II. p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> See also the Scholiast on the Orestes of our Poet, (v. 331.) who mentions this story, and my Preliminary Essay on the Ion, (p. 12.) These Eagles or Swans (says the learned Mr. Bryant) undoubtedly relate to Colonies from Egypt and Canaan, (Anal. of Anc. Myth. vol. I. p. 378.)

<sup>3</sup> This answer of the God is inaccurately cited by Mr. Bryant in his new System of Ancient Mythology, as the assertion of Epimenides instead of the oracle: "Epimenides long before had said the same," (Vol. I. p. 241.)



deservedly the Gods chastized this attempt to explore an old story by the touch, as one would do an ancient picture; but, continues the Philosopher, in our time, not long before the celebration of the Pythian games, during the magistracy of Callistratus, two eminent Men met at Delphi, coming from the two opposite boundaries of the Earth: The one was Demetrius the Grammarian, who came from Bretania, in order to return home to Tarsus, and the other Cleombrotus the Lacedemonian, who had long wandered in Egypt." This latter test, in the opinion of the Modern reader, will be allowed to be no better than the fable of the eagles. According to Phurnutus<sup>4</sup>, the reason why the temple of Delphi was called the ὀμφαλὸς or navel of the Earth, was not on account of its central situation; but from the ὀμφή, or divine voice, being there delivered: And the Scholiast on the Orestes<sup>5</sup> of our Poet mentions this derivation: But the Author of the Analysis of Ancient Mythology, in his dissertation on the Omphi<sup>6</sup> or worship of high places, supposes this hill at Delphi to have been derived from Omphi-El, or the Oracle of the Sun, which the Greeks transferred into their ὀμφαλὸς or navel: He cites this line of Euripides, as "averring<sup>7</sup> that it was the precise center of the earth:" But our Poet in this passage makes the Chorus demand it only as a question; and consequently it is no assertion, as it is printed in his book without the interrogation.

<sup>4</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 32. ed. Gale, p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I. p. 240.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I. p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> V. 331.

## N° XVI.

Στέμμοσσί γ' ἐνδύσος,

Verse 226. Ἀμφί δὲ Γοργόνες.

Hence with garlands crown'd,

217. And Gorgons all around.

THIS is the immediate reply of Ion to the preceding question of the Chorus; and I believe it will strike every Reader of the Original and Translation, as an answer involving great obscurity: The obvious acceptation of the former line, which naturally suggests itself at first sight, is whether the temple of Delphi was in reality the central navel of the earth; and with this idea the reply scarcely admits of any sense: But Dr. Musgrave observes, “ that the question does not regard the temple itself, but a certain white stone, which was called the navel of the earth, as appears from the testimony of Pausanias: This he imagines to have been adorned with garlands as other sacred things, for the sake of securing it from the multitude; hence perhaps Sophocles called it ἀθικτὸν ὀμφαλὸν, or the navel which ought not to be touched:” The words of Pausanias<sup>1</sup> imply, that the navel under Delphi, which was made of White Stone, was asserted by the Delphians to be the identical center of the whole earth; and he adds, that Pindar<sup>2</sup>, in one of his odes corresponds with this

<sup>1</sup> Τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλυμμένον ὀμφαλὸν, λίθῳ πεποιημένον λευκῷ, τῷτο εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ γῆς πάσης αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοὶ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τινὶ Πίνδαρος ὁμολογεῖν ἠσφισιν ἐπείνησι, (l. 10. c. 16. p. 835.

<sup>2</sup> The passage in Pindar, to which Pausanias here alludes, is probably lost; for though that Poet mentions in his works now preserved the ὀμφαλὸς

this opinion. The Scholiast on Lucian <sup>3</sup>, who ridicules this discovery of the earth's center by the flight of Eagles, also mentions, "that at Delphi on the pavement of the temple was the navel, and this they affirmed the center of the whole earth." Few Readers, I conceive, would be tempted on this evidence to acquiesce in the ingenious conjecture of Dr. Musgrave; as here is no allusion to the ornaments of chaplets, or other devices; I proceed therefore to establish this interpretation by other historical testimony, in regard to these essential circumstances: "The situation of Delphi, says Strabo, is in the middle of all Græce, which is within and without the Isthmus; and it has been supposed the center of the whole inhabited earth; they therefore called it the navel, inventing the fable, which is mentioned by Pindar, that two Eagles there met, sent by Jupiter, one from the East and the other from the West; or, as others report, they were crows. He then immediately subjoins, there is a certain navel still shewn in the temple, adorned with fillets <sup>4</sup>, and upon it are two images of this fable:" Here then the expression of Strabo, "τέλαινωμένος, or adorned with fillets," is the counterpart of the *ζέμματος γ' ἐνδυτός* of Euripides, or invested with garlands: For *ταίνια* is defined by Hesychius <sup>5</sup>, "a sacred chaplet, ornament, or bandage. Thus far I have thrown a clear ray of light on a passage, never perhaps before understood by the Modern Reader, and certainly to my knowledge never

five times, there is no marked allusion to the stone: But if it be among his remaining Odes, it is in the fourth Pythian, where he calls the Oracle Πάρμις ομφαλόν. (v. 131.)

<sup>3</sup> De Salt. vol. 2. ed. Hemster, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ομφαλὸς τις, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τέλαινωμένος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἱ δύο εἰκόνες τῶ μύθο. (l. 9. p. 643.)

<sup>5</sup> Στεφανοί, κοσμοί, ἢ δεσμοί ἱεροί.

explained.

explained. It remains however to consider the Gorgons, whom all the Commentators have passed over in profound silence : It appears from the passage of Strabo just cited, that there were images of the fable on the stone representing the navel ; these I apprehend were the two eagles <sup>6</sup> ; for I cannot discover how the figures of the Gorgons could ever be the emblems of the fable ; and consequently they were not the images of Strabo ; besides the expression of Euripides here implies “ the Gorgons all around, ἀμφι,” which would not correspond with the idea of the representation on the navel, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ : We must therefore endeavour to investigate this circumstance still further : Among the several images within the recess of the Delphick Temple, Pausanias <sup>7</sup> mentions a Medusa sitting on the pavement, and supporting with both her hands ὑποσάλην λίθον, the prop of a stone : Now Medusa is well known to have been the principal Gorgon ; and is mentioned as such with her two sisters by Hesiod <sup>8</sup> : Virgil emphatically calls her the Gorgon,

Nimbo effulgens & Gorgone sævâ.

(Æn. 2. v. 616.)

<sup>6</sup> That there were golden eagles at Delphi appears from Pindar, who calls the Pythia the Assessor to them,

Χρυσέων  
Διὸς αἰητῶν παρθεῖος. (Pyth. Od. 4. v. 7.)

The Scholiast there informs us, that these were deposited by Jupiter in the sacred inclosure of the God, in commemoration of the story concerning the eagles : And the Scholiast on the Orestes of our Author also mentions, that golden eagles were deposited, the emblems of the fabulous eagles, (v. 331.) But these I imagine were not the same images to which Strabo alludes.

<sup>7</sup> Μίδεσσα δὲ κατέχευσα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφολέγας τὸν ὑποσάλην ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδάρῃ καθεῖται, (l. 10. c. 26. p. 864.) <sup>8</sup> (Theog. v. 276.) See also Hyginus Fab. p. 9. & Fulg. Mythol. c. 29. p. 655. ed. Van Staveren.

Ipfamque in pectore Divæ  
Gorgona defecto vertentem lumina collo.

(Æn. 8. v. 438.)

The only variation between Euripides and Pausanias is, that the Poet mentions Gorgons in the plural number, but the Antiquary speaks of Medusa alone; nor am I able to shew, by any other parallel instance of historical testimony with this of our Poet, that other Gorgons surrounded this Delphick stone: The same Author, Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, speaks of the winged sisters of Medusa, or these Gorgons, as represented on the curious chest of Cypselus in a temple of Juno within the territories of Elis: This circumstance proves the consecrated quality of such images. We may easily admit, that the Medusa at Delphi was accompanied with her sister Gorgons: or that Euripides here indulged himself with the poetical licence of using the plural, instead of the singular number; Here then we must rest satisfied, having already proved the Garlands of the Delphick stone, the images upon it, and the Medusa within the shrine supporting a stone. The Reader, who is conscious of the difficulty of tracing historical anecdotes and local circumstances, which illustrate the descriptions of ancient poetry, will perhaps wonder that we have already been so fortunate in a point of this nice investigation, and not rigorously expect any additional evidence: I shall conclude with remarking, that if the horrible images of Gorgons were placed around to avert the unhallowed touch from this consecrated stone, no epithet could possibly be more adapted than the ἄθικτον<sup>10</sup> of Sophocles which the Scholiast there explains by ἀπροσπέλαστον unapproachable.

<sup>9</sup> L. 5. c. 18. p. 423.

<sup>10</sup> Oed. Tyr. v. 916.

N<sup>o</sup> XVII.

Verse 229. *Μυχὸν.*

221. The recess.

THE received acceptation of this word applies to the inmost recess of the temple ; which, as Ion here informs the Female Chorus, was liable to be visited at Delphi, after certain preliminary sacrifices : But Dr. Musgrave <sup>1</sup> has attempted to qualify the general sense of this expression for the same reason, that in another note <sup>2</sup> he supposes a distinction between *χρηστήριον* and *ναός* ; the former according to his idea may imply the oracular recess of the shrine, and the latter the whole temple : His object is to reconcile the express testimony of Euripides with that of Plutarch <sup>3</sup> ; who mentions it as a problem to be solved, why no woman was ever permitted to advance to the *χρηστήριον*, or the place, where the Oracle was delivered :” It is therefore from this alone, and not from the temple itself, that the Oxford Editor imagines, that Females by the Law of Delphi were prohibited : Consequently the word *μυχὸν* must not here imply the recess, which would militate against that interpretation : But this supposed distinction between the words *χρηστήριον*, as the oracular shrine, and *ναός* the whole temple, cannot avail Dr. Musgrave in this instance : because Ion in the sequel of the play

<sup>1</sup> In his note on v. 233. of his edition.

<sup>2</sup> On v. 244. of his edition.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ τὸ μηδεμιᾷ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ χρηστήριον εἶναι προσεῖναι. (Ei apud Delph. ed. Xylan. vol. 2, p. 385.)

expressly

expressly asks Creusa, whether she comes with her husband, or alone, to consult the *χρηστήρια*, or oracular shrine,

Σὺν ἀνδρὶ δ' ἦκεις, ἢ μόνῃ χρηστήρια, (v. 299.)

And Xuthus in another line informs her, that neither himself nor she will return home from the *χρηστηρίων* <sup>4</sup> of Apollo according to Trophonius without children : Therefore Euripides and Plutarch must be admitted to be irreconcilable in regard to this circumstance. I do not believe that the policy of Delphi ever excluded Visitants of either sex from approaching the inmost recess; nor can I imagine that our Poet would have offended against a custom which must have been universally known, had it been established in his time : No other historical passage, except this of Plutarch, I believe can be produced to confirm the supposed exclusion of Females from the oracular recess of this temple at Delphi : The only instance, which I ever remember to have read in all Antiquity, and which tends to countenance such a notion, occurs in Silius Italicus, who observes that Females were to be prohibited from visiting the inmost recess of the temple of Hercules at Gades,

Tum, quís fas & honos adyti penetralia nôsse,  
Femineos prohibent gressus.

(L. 3. v. 22.)

Perhaps we may suppose, that the custom in the days of Plutarch was different in this respect at Delphi, than in those of Euripides : Or it might perhaps be a distinguished privilege, conferred on Ladies of Creusa's royal dignity, to visit the oracular shrine, while Women of inferior quality were

<sup>4</sup> V. 409.

excluded : Thus Ion afterwards <sup>5</sup> addressees the Chorus, as stationed round the edge of the temple, expecting their royal Master : But this partial idea of admittance is founded only on conjecture ; and the expression here is general, addressed to the whole Chorus unqualified : We also know that Females administered to the services of the God by the authority of our Poet ; for the Chorus in his Phœnissæ consists of Phœnician Captives, who were sent into Græce, as consecrated spoils or offerings to Apollo, in order to attend his temple, as the *δουλοὶ μελαίθρων* <sup>6</sup>, or the Servants of it. It seems therefore strange to imagine, that where a Priestess presided as Pythia, and where there were female Attendants, Visitants of their own sex should be excluded from the consecrated recess of the oracle.

## N° XVIII.

Verse 278. *Παρθένες.*

270. He slew the Virgins.

THESE *Πάρθενοι*, or Virgin Daughters of Erechtheus, were called *Ῥακύνθιδαι*, or the Hyacinthides, as we learn from Demosthenes <sup>1</sup> : And Suidas <sup>2</sup> informs us, that the reason of this appellation was derived from Hyacinthus, a district in Athens, where they were sacrificed : He has given us their several names ; and he makes them to be six in number ; of which according to him the two eldest were victims : Coelius

<sup>5</sup> V. 510.

<sup>6</sup> Phœn. v 211. See also v. 213. 222. 229. & 289.

<sup>1</sup> In Epitaph Orat. Græci, ed. Reiske, vol. II. pars 1. p. 1393.

<sup>2</sup> Vox *Πάρθενοι*.



Rhodiginus<sup>3</sup> corresponds in the same account: It also appears from a Greek Proverb<sup>4</sup> hence derived, that these Virgins were six in number. Other Authors, besides Euripides in this passage, and Suidas, speak of more than the sacrifice of one Daughter: Thus Cicero<sup>5</sup>, *Repetunt ab Erechtheo, cujus etiam filiae cupide mortem expetiverunt pro vita civium*: And again, *Mortem quam etiam Virgines Athenis Regis opinor Erechthei filiae pro patria contempnissse dicuntur*<sup>6</sup>: But our Poet in the Play of his Erechtheus<sup>7</sup> mentions a single Daughter, as the object of this sacrifice: And with him in this respect correspond Lycurgus<sup>8</sup>, Plutarch<sup>9</sup>, and Aristides<sup>10</sup>. Apollodorus<sup>11</sup> and Hyginus<sup>12</sup> will fortunately serve to reconcile this variation; since they inform us, that the Sisters having engaged in a solemn oath to die together, after the sacrifice of the youngest according to the Oracle, which demanded only one, the others committed suicide: But Stobæus<sup>13</sup> asserts, that it was the eldest Daughter, who was sacrificed: We may conclude that in one instance the Authors allude to the original sacrifice, and in the other to the fatal consequences, which followed it. There is also a variation in regard to the number of these Daughters of Erechtheus; for Hyginus affirms, that he had four: And we may collect from Euripides<sup>14</sup>, that at the time of the sacrifice there were only three: But if to these we add the infant Creusa,

<sup>3</sup> Lect. Ant. L. 13. c. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Παρθένους ἐξ ἑφτάμιλλος. (Apost.

Cent. 15. 84. See also Meurs. de Reg. Athen., l. 1. c. 9.)

<sup>5</sup> Tusc. Disput. l. 1. c. 48.)

<sup>6</sup> Pro Sextio, (c. 21.)

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Barnes, p. 467. v. 67 & 97. See also the Preliminary Essay on the Ion, (p. 4.)

<sup>8</sup> Orat. Contrà Leocratem. Orat. Græci. ed. Reiske,

vol. 4. pars 2. p. 202.

<sup>9</sup> Paral. ed. Xylan, vol. 2. p. 310.

<sup>10</sup> In Panat.

<sup>11</sup> Bibliot. l. 3. p. 134. ed. Spolet, 1555.

<sup>12</sup> Fab. 46 & 238.

<sup>13</sup> Serm. 38.

<sup>14</sup> Καὶ δὲ γ' ὁμοσπόμεναι σώσει. (ed. Barnes, p. 468. v. 100.)

he will then correspond with Hyginus; and Creusa is the fourth Daughter in the arrangement of the fix Sisters by Suidas: The other two were probably born after the event of the sacrifice; Creusa however in the play is supposed the only surviving one at the æra of the Drama.

## N° XIX.

Verse 300. Τροφώνιος.

292. The Trophonian shrine.

THE circumstances regarding the oracular Cave of Trophonius are collected by Archbishop Potter in his *Archæologia* <sup>1</sup>, and by Fontenelle in his *History of Oracles* <sup>2</sup>. Sir George Wheeler inverted the journey of Xuthus, for he went from Delphi to Livadia, “which place, says he, was celebrated in old times for the oracle of Trophonius, which was in a cavern in a hill.” (*Travels into Græce*, b. 4. p. 329.)

## N° XX.

Verse 337. Ἡ Θέσς.

329. Her power avails not here.

THE Goddess Αἰδώς or Modesty was worshipped among the Græcians; and we learn from our Poet in his *Hippolytus* <sup>3</sup>, that there were two divinities of the same name; the one inclined to ill, the other to good. We may also collect the

<sup>1</sup> B. 2. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Prem. Dissert. c. 15.

<sup>3</sup> V. 385.

same idea from a passage in the fragments of his Erechtheus<sup>4</sup>; and Homer<sup>5</sup> and Hesiod both<sup>6</sup> correspond with him in the same assertion. Among all Mortals, says Demosthenes<sup>7</sup>, there are altars of Justice, Equity, and Modesty. Thus Pausanias mentions at Athens<sup>8</sup> an altar of this Goddess, and also a statue of her at Sparta. (l. 1. c. 17. p. 39. & l. 3. c. 22. p. 262.)

## N° XXI.

Verse 354. Σὸς ταύτην ἥβης.

346. His years, if living, would approach to thine.

THIS observation of Creusa is extremely interesting. In the Opera of Gioas, Re di Giuda, by Metastasio, Sebil says to her undiscovered child in a scene, which bears a great resemblance to this,

Ah, se non era  
L'inumana Atalia,  
Appunto il mio Gioas così faria.

(A. 1. f. 3.)

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Barnes, v. 120. p. 468.

<sup>5</sup> Il. 24. v. 45.

<sup>6</sup> In Op. & Dies, v. 318.  
ed. Taylor.

<sup>7</sup> Cont. Arist. Orat. 1. vol. 2. p. 476.

<sup>8</sup> See also Hesychius vox Αἰδῆς.

## N° XXII.

N<sup>o</sup> XXII.

Verse 452.

Λοχίαν

Εἰλειθυίαν.

454. Thee, prompt to yield thy lenient aid.

THE Goddess, here invoked under the title of Εἰλειθυία Ilithyia, is fixed <sup>1</sup> by the return of the sentence, where the Chorus expressly calls her Λατογενής, the daughter of Latona<sup>2</sup>, to imply Diana : who under this character was adored, as the tutelary Divinity presiding over the travail of women : As the epithet of λοχία, conveying this idea, is here applied to her, so our Poet in his Hippolytus calls her, by the corresponding word of εὐλοχος<sup>3</sup> ; and in his Supplices by this very epithet of λοχία<sup>4</sup> : Callimachus makes Diana in his hymn<sup>5</sup> to this Goddess declare, that from her birth she was destined to preside over this employment. In regard to the derivation of the word Ilithyia, Phurnutus<sup>6</sup> deduces it either from εἰλεμένη, in allusion to her constant revolution round the earth, as the

<sup>1</sup> Because the title of Ilithyia is not alone sufficient, as this is often applied to another Græcian Goddess, incompatible with Diana : Thus Hesiod in his Theogony (v. 921.) and Pindar in his commencement of the seventh Nemean Ode call her the daughter of Juno ; which corresponds with Homer, who mentions the Εἰλειθυίαι, as the daughters of Juno (Il. 11. v. 271.) Though in another passage he speaks of a single Goddess of this name, without any specification to ascertain the object of his expression, (Il. 16. v. 187.) At other times this Ilithyia is described, as present at the travail of Latona, the Mother of Diana, as by the Author of the hymn to Apollo, ascribed to Homer (v. 97 & 115.) and for this purpose she is invoked by Callimachus in his hymn to Delos (v. 132 & 257. Pausanias also mentions a temple of Ilithyia, who came from the Hyperboreans to Delos to assist at the parturition of Latona. (l. 1. c. 18. p. 42.)

<sup>2</sup> V. 465.<sup>3</sup> V. 166.<sup>4</sup> V. 958.<sup>5</sup> V. 23.<sup>6</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 34. ed. Gale. p. 236.

Moon;

Moon; or from ἐλεύθω to come, as attending the call of pregnant Women: But, according to Wesselingius in his edition of Diodorus <sup>7</sup> Siculus, this word is of Phœnician extraction, and comes from a term in that language, signifying to bring forth. The Scholiast on Aristophanes <sup>8</sup> asserts, that this Ilithyia was the Diana Phosphorus, so denominated from being the Inspector of Infants on their arrival into the region of light: From this idea the Romans adopted the titles of Lucina <sup>9</sup> and Genitalis <sup>10</sup>: But they <sup>11</sup> were involved in equal, if not greater, darkness than even the Græcians in regard to the identity of this object of their Pagan adoration; and nothing can more demonstrate the gross confusion in that complicated system of Heathen Theology. Lucian <sup>12</sup> has not failed to rally with his usual humour this pretty occupation of the chaste Virgin Diana; but those who defend the propriety of it refer to the physical operation of the moon on parturition,

Rite maturos aperire partus.

(Hor. Car. Sec. v. 13.)

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I. l. 5. p. 389.

<sup>8</sup> Lyfistrata, v. 743.

<sup>9</sup> Thus Cicero, ut apud Græcos Dianam, eamque Luciferam, sic apud nostros Junonem Lucinam in pariendo vocant. (De Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 27.)

<sup>10</sup> Hor. Carm. Secul. v. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Terence corresponds with Cicero in his exclamation of Juno Lucina, (Andria, A. 3. S. 1.) And Catullus addresses Diana, Tu Lucina dolentibus Juno dicta puerperis, (Carm. 34. v. 13.) But Virgil and Horace evidently apply this title of Lucina to Diana, (Ecl. 4. v. 10. Carm. l. 3. od. 22. v. 3. & Carm. Secul. v. 15.) And Ovid opposes Diana, as Lucina, to Juno. (Met. l. 9. v. 284.) Two Engravings of this Goddess may be seen in Montfaucon (Antiq. Expl. tom. I. pl. 22. fig. 4 & 5.)

<sup>12</sup> Deor. Dial. 16. vol. I. p. 245. ed. Hemster.

## N° XXIII.

Verse 455. Προμηθεΐ Τῆάνι λοχευ-  
θεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάταις  
Κορυφαῖς Διός.

459. Thou, whom the Titan from the head of Jove  
Prometheus drew.

ACCORDING to the opinion of Barnes, the Titan, here mentioned, as affording assistance to Jupiter, when Minerva issued from his head, is Vulcan: He therefore translates Προμηθεΐ, as an epithet, and not as the name of a Man: It must be allowed, that Vulcan is sometimes represented, as aiding and assisting at this extraordinary parturition: Thus Pindar,

By Vulcan's art the Father's teeming head  
Was open'd wide; and forth impetuous sprung,  
And shouted fierce and loud the Warrior Maid.

(West. Olym. Od. 7. St. 19.)

Lucian <sup>1</sup> also in one of his dialogues has ridiculed this fantastick employment of the God Vulcan: But Heath <sup>2</sup> objects to this interpretation of Barnes, that the appellation of Titan is not applicable to Vulcan: whereas it is perfectly adapted to Prometheus, as appears from the Theogony <sup>3</sup> of Hesiod: To this authority, cited by him, may be added Æschylus <sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Deor. Dial. 8. vol. 1. ed. Hemster. p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Not. in Ion. p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> V. 134. 207. 507. 510.

<sup>4</sup> Prom. V. 205.

who represents Prometheus, as attempting to give advice to the Titans; and Sophocles <sup>5</sup> expressly calls him Titan Prometheus: Thus in Lucian <sup>6</sup> Mercury orders Vulcan to nail the wretched Titan, alluding to Prometheus; and the Scholiast on Apollonius <sup>7</sup> Rhodius also asserts, that he was one of the Titans. It remains however to shew, that this curious office in the Fabulous Mythology was applied to Prometheus, as well as Vulcan: Heath has omitted to give this necessary information, which I am fortunately able to supply: For Apollodorus <sup>8</sup> says, “that when the fulness of time for the birth of Minerva was come, Prometheus, or according to others Vulcan, struck the head of Jupiter with an axe:” The Scholiast on Pindar <sup>9</sup> also observes, “that some assigned this office to Palamaon, others to Mercury, and others to Prometheus:” Here therefore we may with certainty acquiesce in regard to the Person, to whom Euripides alludes in the performance of this operation. As to this extravagant relation of the birth of Minerva, this monstrous fable is often mentioned by the Græcian <sup>10</sup> and Roman <sup>11</sup> Poets: If I may hazard a conjecture on the origin of it, the name of Coryphe, the Mother of one of the Minerva’s according to Cicero <sup>12</sup>, which word corresponds with *κερυφή* or the head, may have occasioned the original foundation of it. Pausanias <sup>13</sup> men-

<sup>5</sup> Oedip. Colon. v. 56.

<sup>6</sup> Tom. I. p. 185. ed. Hemster.

<sup>7</sup> Argon. l. 3. v. 864.

<sup>8</sup> L. 1. p. 6. ed. Æg. Spolet. 1555.

<sup>9</sup> Olym. Od. 7. v. 66.

<sup>10</sup> Hom. in Pall. v. 5. and in Apoll. v. 696. ed. Clarke Odyss. & vol. 2. p. 696 and 758. Hes. Theog. v. 924. Æsch. Eum. v. 666. Callim. in Lav. Pall. v. 135. Apol. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 1310. According to Tzetzes on Lycophron Minerva derived the name of Pallas, *παρὰ τὸ πάλαι τὰ ὅπλα*, from shaking her armour, when she leaped from the head of Jove, (v. 355.)

<sup>11</sup> Ter. Heaut. A. 5. f. 4. v. 13. Ovid Fast. l. 3. v. 842. Lucan, l. 9. v. 350. Hyg. Fab. Auct. Mythog. ed. Stav. p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 23.

<sup>13</sup> L. 4. c. 36.

tions a temple of Minerva Coryphasia at Pylos; and it appears from Ovid, that the Romans adored this Divinity under the title of Capita,

Parva licet videas Capitæ delubra Minervæ.

Fast. l. 3. v. 837.

There are two engravings in Montfaucon<sup>14</sup>, representing this birth of Minerva, where Jupiter and this Goddess with the assistant Operator are all drawn in their respective attitudes and devices corresponding to this romantick fable: But a fourth personage is also introduced, who supports Jupiter, “*fatigué des couches si extraordinaires*,” according to the expression of Montfaucon.

#### Nº XXIV.

Verse 457. Νίκη.

459. Bright Victory come.

THE Chorus here implores Minerva under her title of Νίκη, or the Goddess of Victory, and Creusa<sup>1</sup> afterwards in this play swears by the same Divinity. We learn from Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, “that on the summit of the Acropolis at Athens stood a temple of Minerva, called Victory.” Sophocles also in his Philoctetes addresses Minerva under this appellation,

Νίκη τ' Ἀθηνᾶ πολιάς. (V. 135.)

<sup>14</sup> Antiq. expl. tom. 2. l. 3. p. 62.

<sup>1</sup> V. 1529.

<sup>2</sup> Attic. l. 1. c. 42. p. 101.



Here the Scholiast informs us, that the tutelary Guardian of the citadel in Attica was called Minerva Victory : And Harpocraton <sup>3</sup> in his Lexicon cites the testimony of Heliodorus Periegetes to the same purpose.

## N° XXV.

Verse 494. ὦ Πανὸς θακήμαλα, καὶ  
 Παραυλίζουσα πέτρα,  
 Μυχὸν δαυτὶ μακραῖς.

465. Ye rustick seats, Pan's dear delight,  
 Ye caves of Macrai's rocky height.

OUR Poet again alludes in another line <sup>1</sup> of this play to this cavern of Pan ; and he there fixes its situation, as near to the Northern Cave of Macrai, which was under the citadel of Athens : He also there mentions a shrine and altars in honour of Pan ; Thus we learn from Herodotus <sup>2</sup>, “ that the Athenians built a temple to Pan under the Acropolis, “ and supplicated him with annual sacrifices and a torch :” This historical anecdote will fortunately enable us to understand the true sense of this expression in Euripides of δαυτὶ μακραῖς, which I conceive to allude to the same celebration, mentioned by Herodotus, and to imply the festivities in honour of the God : I approve therefore of the version of Canter, which is, “ Secessus longis epulis ;” in preference

<sup>3</sup> Vox Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ.

<sup>1</sup> V. 938.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱερὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίαις ἐπιλείψαι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκειν αὐτήν. (l. 6. c. 105.)

to that of the Cambridge and Oxford Editors, who imagine, that the word *μακροῖς*, instead of an epithet, implying long, ought to be rendered, as the cave of Macraï; and under this idea they have been obliged to suppose the word *δαισι* corrupt, for which in their respective notes they have substituted different emendations; the necessity of which is avoided by this construction. Brodæus<sup>3</sup> retains *δαισι*, and translates it *epulis sacrificiis*, but refers at the same time the allusion to the place of Macraï under the expression of *μακροῖς*. There is also a passage in Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>, which mentions this cave of Pan as a convenient receptacle for Women: Pausanias<sup>5</sup> in his description of the citadel of Athens asserts, that there is a temple of Apollo and Pan in a cavern, where Creusa according to report was compressed by Apollo<sup>6</sup>. The words *δαισι μακροῖς* may also perhaps be here rendered by *longis tædis*, in allusion to the torches mentioned in Herodotus.

## N° XXVI,

Verse 496. Ἀγρᾶυλα κόραι τρίγονοι.

499. The offspring of Agraulos they,  
A trinal band.

THE objects, to which Euripides here alludes under the expression of the Damsels of Agraulos, cannot be the same with the three virgin Daughters of Cecrops and Agraulos, already mentioned in the Prologus<sup>7</sup> of this play, as having the custody of the Infant Erichthonius committed to them by

<sup>3</sup> In Ion. Annot. p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡ τῷ Πανὸς ἐστὶ τ' αὐλίων. (Lyfist. v. 722.)

<sup>5</sup> Καὶ πλησίον Ἀπέλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός. (L. i. c. 28. p. 68.)

<sup>6</sup> See my Note on v. 13 of this play, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> V. 23.

Minerva: For a whole century must have nearly elapsed since this event, as he was great Grandfather of Ion; and consequently they could not with any consistent probability of chronology be represented, as now alive: But we have already been expressly informed by the Poet<sup>2</sup>, that these Virgins were punished by death for their contempt of the injunction of the Goddess in opening the casket: Yet both Scaliger and Barnes, as appears from the notes<sup>3</sup> and Latin version of the latter, seem not to have been aware of the absurdity arising from this construction, which refers the expression to the three Daughters, as now alive, of Cecrops and Agrauros, or Aglauros: But Dr. Musgrave<sup>4</sup> supposes, that it alludes to an imaginary dance of them after their death: and with this difference he adheres to the identity of the objects: This interpretation is built on conjecture, without any other authority to support this idea at Athens of a visionary dance of the Agraulides, "except a fable related of Protefilaus by Philostratus, and another of the course of Achilles by some Geographers, mentioned by this Editor:" I cannot assent to this opinion, which appears to me too fantastick and improbable. Instead of referring this expression of Ἀγρᾱύλῃς κόραι τρίγονοι to Agrauros and her Sisters, Brodæus<sup>5</sup> interprets the word ἀγρᾱύλῃς, as an epithet, and not as the name of a person: According to this idea he translates the passage, "tres, id est quam plurimæ rustici filiæ:" He does not inform us, who is the particular person, to which rustici alludes; but Canter in his Latin version renders it Agrestis Dei, by which I understand him to mean

<sup>2</sup> V. 274.  
edition.

<sup>3</sup> On v. 23 & 406.

<sup>5</sup> In Ion. Annot. p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> See his note on v. 508. of his

Pan mentioned in (V. 492.) This sense of the passage clashes with the epithet *τρίγονοι*, and is unsupported by any historical testimony. On application to that book of Euripides, which belonged to Milton, as mentioned in my preceding note on (V. 54) I discover, that our English Poet has marked the word *Ἀγραύλας* in the text, and in the opposite margin has there inserted in his own hand *ἄγραυλοι* with the letter f. annexed: He would insinuate by this observation, that perhaps we ought to substitute this epithet, instead of the printed reading, which alteration would then imply *rusticæ puellæ*, or the rural Damsels: I believe that this proposed emendation was entirely his own; but Dr. Musgrave<sup>6</sup> mentions, that there is one manuscript authority for the word *ἄγραυλοι*, though at the same time he condemns it: If it were not for the epithet *τρίγονοι*, I confess that I should be inclined to embrace this ingenious conjecture; but that epithet militates against this construction, as I shall shew in the following explanation of the passage, where I flatter myself that I have discovered the genuine sense of it, hitherto unexplained: The definition of the word *τρίγονοι* by Hesychius<sup>7</sup> implies those, who are in the third generation: Thus Suidas<sup>8</sup> explains *τριγονία*, as the third generation, and cites a fragment, where the word occurs in that sense: I find it also used by Aristides<sup>9</sup>; where speaking of some of the Græcians, who inhabited Asia, he observes, “ that some had been slaves for

<sup>6</sup> Malè MSS S eph. *ἄγραυλοι*. On V. 503. of his edition.

<sup>7</sup> Τρίτην γενίαν ἐπίσχοντες (vox *τρίγονος*).

<sup>8</sup> Ἡ τρίτῃ γενίᾳ. Διαδιξάμενος, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τὸ τῷ πατρὶ; ἐς τριγονίαν παρέπιμπε τὸ ἔχθος. (vox *τριγονία*.)

<sup>9</sup> Οἱ μὲν ἐκ τριγονίας ἐδύλευον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πλείονος.

Orat. tom. i. ed. Jebb. p. 169.

three generations, and others for more." The Scholiast <sup>10</sup> here informs us, "that it implies the third generation from the *προγόνων* <sup>11</sup> or their great Grandfathers." Here then, if we adopt this explanation of the word *τρίγονοι*, the whole difficulty of this passage in Euripides will vanish: for the Descendents in the third generation from Agrauios, Wife of Cecrops, were Contemporaries with the Athenian Chorus in the play, since they were precisely in the same line of descent as Ion. This will appear to the Reader from the following table, where Agrauios and Erichthonius both represent the Prepositus, or common Ancestor.

Agrauios or Aglauros.	Erichthonius.
1.	1.
Agrauios, Herse, Pandrosos,	Erechtheus.
or	
The Daughters of Agrauios.	
2.	2.
Agraulides,	Creusa.
or	
The grand Daughters of Agrauios.	
3.	3.
Κόραι τρίγονοι,	Ion.
or	
The great grand Daughters.	

Hence it appears that the epithet *τρίγονοι* should not be here translated triplices, as by all the Editors, but pronepotes, or the Damsels in the third generation removed from Agrauios; and it is a matter of entire indifference, whether they

<sup>10</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ τριῶν γενεῶν, οἷον ἀπὸ προγόνων.

<sup>11</sup> Thus Hesychius defines Προγόνος, πρόπαππος. (vox πρόγονος.)

were

were the lineal descendents of this Queen, or whether the Athenian Virgins, to whom the Chorus here alludes, were only in the same corresponding line of the third generation. The consecrated dance here mentioned was either in honour of Pan, or perhaps of Agraalos; for she appears to have been held in great veneration at Athens after her death: Herodotus<sup>12</sup> mentions her temple in the citadel, and Pausanias her *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure in Attica. According to Stephanus Byzantinus there was a *δημός* or district called Agraule, belonging to the Erechthean tribe at Athens, whose name was derived from Agraalos, Sister of Cecrops: And Meursius<sup>13</sup> asserts from Athenagoras, that the Athenians celebrated the mysteries of Agraalos: He also mentions<sup>14</sup>, that a festival, called *Πανηγύρια*, was instituted in her honour at Athens, as appears from Hesychius<sup>15</sup>. I do not deny, that *τρέγονοι* is sometimes used to express tres, or triplices, as by our Poet in his *Hercules*<sup>16</sup> *Furens*; but the more frequent sense is that, which I have here given it, as proved by the authorities cited; and other corresponding instances from Strabo and Herodian may be seen in the Lexicon of H. Stephens, (Vol. I. p. 842.)

<sup>12</sup> L. 8. c. 53.<sup>13</sup> Cecrop. c. 28.<sup>14</sup> De Reg. Att. l. 1. c. 11. & Græcia Fer. l. 5. p. 228.<sup>15</sup> Vox Πανηγύρια.<sup>16</sup> V. 1023.

## N° XXVII.

Verse 550. Φανός γε Βαχίς.

Once at the feast

566. Of Bacchus.

THIS passage contains internal evidence derived from the words of the Poet himself, that the mysteries of Bacchus had for some time been established at Delphi; consequently the chronology of the Bacchæ, which Play contains the first introduction of the rites of this Pagan God into Thebes, where they were first celebrated in Græce, precedes that of the Ion, as I have already mentioned in my Note on (V. 192) of this play, and shall also prove in my Note on (V. 2) of the Bacchæ. The expression of φανός, as Brodæus observes, here alludes to the conuscation of the torches in the midnight orgies of Bacchus, which are also mentioned afterwards in the Ion<sup>1</sup>; but all remarks on these orgies are referred to my comment on the Bacchæ.

## N° XXVIII.

Verse 551. Προξένων.

562. By some publick Host received.

THE Προξένοι were publick Officers in the different Cities of Græce, appointed to receive and entertain Strangers, who

<sup>1</sup> V. 717.

were

were then considered under their immediate protection. The Scholiast on the Birds <sup>1</sup> of Aristophanes corresponds with the above definition. Herodotus <sup>2</sup> informs us, that the Kings of Sparta had the special privilege of appointing such Citizens, as they chose, to this honourable office of *Πρόξεναι*: There was a political use, independent of hospitality, arising from this particular institution, since these Citizens, by virtue of their employment, became the publick Spies of the Police <sup>3</sup>: They are again mentioned afterwards in this play, where the Tutor desires Creusa to enter the roof of these Delphick Officers, prepared for her reception (V. 1039.)

## N° XXIX.

Verse 592. *Νοθαγένης.*

617. Of spurious birth.

HERE Ion complains of two misfortunes, incident to his present supposed circumstances; the first is, that his Father, as he now imagines Xuthus to be, was no native Citizen of Athens, which was a legal disadvantage to the Son, as mentioned in my Preliminary Essay <sup>4</sup>; and the second cause of his complaint springs from the illegitimacy of his birth: We are now to consider this circumstance on the principles of the Athenian Law. It appears from the Birds <sup>5</sup> of Aristophanes, that the *νόθος*, or spurious child, had not the least pretensions to his Father's Goods, for Pisthetærus there informs Hercules, that he is intitled to nothing, as

<sup>1</sup> V. 1039.

<sup>2</sup> L. 6. c. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Cragius de Rep. Lacedem. l. 2. c. 10.

<sup>4</sup> P. 1c.

<sup>5</sup> V. 1649.

born



born of a foreign Woman, and therefore spurious; he also asserts, that the Law of Athens prevented the Father from bequeathing by will to his illegitimate child any part of his property, as appears from the Law of Solon, cited by him in these words; “The spurious child has no right of inheritance, if there are legitimate children; and if there are none of those, the goods of the deceased devolve on the nearest of kin.” The Scholiast<sup>7</sup> upon this passage however informs us, “that the Father was enabled by the Law of Athens to leave to his Bastards a sum to the amount of five minæ, or five hundred drachmas; but this they delivered to them by hand, since these illegitimate children had no right to inherit as heirs;” The other Scholiast Bifetus extends the *νοθεῖα* or Bastards portion to a thousand drachmas; which corresponds with the account in Harpocration<sup>8</sup> and Suidas<sup>9</sup>, who cite the testimony of Lysias, Isæus, Aristophanes, Hyperides, and Demosthenes, for the truth of this assertion. I refer the reader, who wishes for farther information on this subject, to Archbishop Potter’s *Archæologia*. (B. 4, c. 15.)

## N° XXX.

Verse 701. Πόσις δ’ αἰτίε[τος] φίλων.

738. E’en thus, unhonour’d by his friends.

THIS is one of the most difficult passages in the Ion; and Editors and Criticks, instead of explaining the original words, have exercised their ingenuity by substituting innovations of their own: But these, instead of enlightening the sense of

<sup>6</sup> V. 1662.

<sup>7</sup> V. 1635.

<sup>8</sup> Vox Νοθεῖα.

<sup>9</sup> Vox Νοθεῖα.

Euripides,

Euripides, have only obscured it in greater darkness. The original reading under the sanction of manuscript authority was ἀτίετος or ἄτιλος, as appears from the notes of the Cambridge and Oxford Editors: The former, entirely rejecting this word, has inserted into the text his unfortunate conjecture of ἀνέχνητος, which has scarce the shadow of a meaning: And Dr. Musgrave, restoring the original text, has not attempted to explain it, but recommends to read ἄτηντος: Since I design to vindicate the original words, it becomes unnecessary to perplex the Reader with the various objections to these innovations, which would serve only to fatigue his attention. The first rule of Criticism ought to be, that no ancient Author should be touched by a modern Critick, unless the colour is entirely faded from the venerable picture: I flatter myself, that this desperate remedy is not necessary to be applied in the present instance to Euripides: I shall proceed therefore to offer my explication by recalling the attention to the subject. The Chorus is here contrasting the respective situations of Creusa and Xuthus. The former they assert to be involved in calamity, as advancing towards old age without children; but the latter they pronounce as fortunate: This circumstance alludes to the discovery of Ion by Xuthus, as his supposed illegitimate Son, and as Brodæus<sup>1</sup> remarks, “Quod filium nactus sit:” Yet notwithstanding this discovery, continues the Chorus, this Husband, Xuthus, is dishonoured<sup>2</sup>, or despised, by his friends: and  
the

<sup>1</sup> In Ion, Annot. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> The definition of ἀτίλος in Hesychius is “ἀτιμώμενος καὶ ἀ τήρησιν τῆς αἰτίας,” “a Man unrevengeed from an inability to inflict punishment:” Hence an object of contempt, for just above he has explained ἀτίλῃν by ἀτιμον, “τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα ἀποτιθεῖν, one dishonoured, as not being able to revenge himself.”  
According

the same Commentator justly renders it "ab amicis spretus :"  
 This idea refers to the ignominy of the want of issue with  
 his wife Creusa : And then the Chorus, impressed with this  
 sentiment, exclaims, "Wretched is that Foreigner, who  
 adopted into any respectable family, has not preserved the  
 elevated prosperity of it :"  
 Thus the whole sentence becomes  
 naturally connected ; for the mind of these Athenian Women,  
 after having acknowledged the present happiness of Xuthus  
 in this discovery of his son Ion, when contrasted with the  
 melancholy barrenness of their favourite Queen Creusa, darts  
 with a malignant joy to blast the apparent felicity of this  
 royal Stranger, by stigmatizing him with the infamy of this  
 new acquisition, and his real disgrace for want of legitimate  
 issue. That the Reader may be satisfied of the necessity of  
 unravelling the context, I will subjoin for his curiosity the  
 different versions of this single line by the Commentators on  
 Euripides,

Maritus verò expers amicorum est. Canter.

Maritus verò est securus amicorum suorum ob potentiam.

Barnes:

According to this definition, I find the word *ἄτιλος* used by Homer and Æschylus, though they differ in the quantity :

Ὁδὲ μὲν αὐτ' ἄτιλος κῆρ' Ἀγίος. (Il. 13. v. 414.)

Here the word *ἄτιλος* is explained both by the Scholiast and Eustathius in the sense of *ἄτιμος*, as well as in that of *ἀτιμωρητός*.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἄλλῃ σαρκὶ παλαίᾳ. (Agamem, v. 72.)

There are also two authorities for *ἄτισις*, as synonymous with *ἄτιλος*, or dishonoured, in the Eumenides of Æschylus,

\* Ἀλὲμ' ἄτισις διόμηναι

Λάχη θεῶν. (v. 389.)

\* Ἀτίσιον, φῆν, μῦσος, (v. 842.)

As *τίω* signifies honore & punio, so its derivatives *ἄτιλος* and *ἀτίσις* will equally imply inhonoratus, vel inultus, dishonoured or unrevenge.

Maritus verò ab amicis non emollitur. Musgrave.

Maritus verò hoc facto existimatione suâ apud amicos excider. Heath.

Ed il marito

Difeso è dal valore

De' propri amici. Carmeli.

Whereas according to my interpretation it ought to be,

Maritus verò ab amicis inhonoratus est, vel ab amicis spretus.

Though this version corresponds with the idea of Brodæus, yet the context, not being unravelled by him, has occasioned the whole sentence to have been thus perverted.

#### N° XXXI.

Verse 707. Καλλιφλογα πέλαγον.

748. No fav'ring flame to him ascend.

H E R E Brodæus <sup>1</sup> observes, that the Votary was sensible of the acceptance of his prayer by the manner in which the flame darted its ejaculation: The Chorus therefore here deprecates any favourable omen to Ion from his sacrifices. The Græcians probably derived this religious notion from the Oriental Nations, where it appears to have been of the most remote and venerable antiquity; since Cain by this symptom discovered, “that the LORD had respect unto Abel  
“and to his offering; but unto Cain and his offering he had  
“no respect <sup>2</sup>:” And when Aaron <sup>3</sup> and Moses offered their

<sup>1</sup> Annot. in Ion. p. 109. <sup>2</sup> Genesis, c. 4. v. 4 & 5. <sup>3</sup> Levit. c. 9. v. 24. burnt

burnt offering, "there came a fire from before the LORD, "and consumed it, which when all the People saw they "shouted." Thus at the sacrifice of Gideon <sup>4</sup> "there rose "up fire out of the rock, and consumed the flesh, and the "unleavened cakes." The *πέλανος* of the Greeks, here mentioned, was also a cake, which, thrown into the fire, was consecrated, as appears from this passage in Euripides, and another in the *Plutus* <sup>5</sup> of Aristophanes. Dr. Musgrave here refers us to the *Phœnissæ* <sup>6</sup> of our Author; who there mentions the *ἐμπυρές ἀκμῆς*, or the point of the flame, as ascertaining the fortune of the sacrifice: There is a chapter in the *Archæologia* <sup>7</sup> of Archbishop Potter on the divination by sacrifices; where he treats of the *πυρομαντῆία*, or divination by fire, and the good and evil signs attending it. If the flame was bright, this was an auspicious omen, as it was then *καλλίφλογα*; but it was esteemed the contrary, if it corresponded with the description of the sacrifice in the *Antigone* of Sophocles,

When, from the victim, lo! the fullen flame  
Aspir'd not; smother'd in the ashes still  
Lay'd the moist flesh, and roll'd in smoke, repelled  
The rising fire.

(Franklin, vol. 2. p. 57.)

<sup>4</sup> Judg. c. 6. v. 24. See also 1 Chron. c. 21. v. 26.

<sup>6</sup> V. 1289.

<sup>7</sup> B. 2. c. 14. p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> V. 661.

## N° XXXII.

Verse 872. Λίμνης Τριτωνιάδος.

917. This hallow'd Lake by Triton form'd.

THE river and lake of Triton in Africa was consecrated, as the birth-place of the Goddess Minerva : Hence she derived her title of Τριτογενής, as she is called in the hymn to Pallas, attributed to Homer <sup>1</sup> : And Diodorus <sup>2</sup> Siculus expressly tells us, that from this circumstance she was named Tritonis : Thus Lucan,

Et se dilectâ Tritonida dixit ab undâ.

(L. 9. v. 354.)

The Heroines of Libya, according to Apollonius <sup>3</sup> Rhodius, bathed the Goddess in the stream of Triton, when she issued from the head of her Father : And Æschylus <sup>4</sup> calls it her native river. According to Herodotus <sup>5</sup>, the Inhabitants near the lake Tritonis celebrated a festival in honour of Minerva, as their native Goddess, and chiefly sacrificed to her. The Reader may consult Meursius in his *Regnum Atticum* on this subject. C. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. ed. Clarke. vol. 2. p. 758.

<sup>2</sup> L. 3. sect. 69. ed. Wessél. vol. I. p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Argon. l. 4. v. 1310.

<sup>4</sup> Eum. v. 293.

<sup>5</sup> L. 4. c. 180. & 187.

N<sup>o</sup> XXXIII.

Verse      *Χρυσῷ χείρα*  
 887.      *Μαρμαίρων.*  
                  With gold  
 928.      Thy locks all glitt'ring.

THE beautiful locks of Apollo, for which he was so celebrated both by the Græcian and Roman Poets, are here by a poetical metaphor said to glitter with gold: Thus Pindar <sup>1</sup>, and our Poet in his Supplices <sup>2</sup>, expressly apply the epithet of *χρυσόκομος*, or the golden-haired, to this God: and Valerius <sup>3</sup> Flaccus calls him *Sol auricomus*. According to Macrobius <sup>4</sup>, he derived this appellation of *chryfocomes* from the splendour of the rays, which were denominated the golden locks of the Sun: And Phurnutus <sup>5</sup> observes, "that this epithet has a singular propriety in allusion to his solar rays, since he is *χρυσωπὸς* of a golden countenance." That Apollo was thus represented by the Artists, appears from Montfaucon <sup>6</sup>, who says of the Tyrant Dionysius, "that he robbed a statue of this God of his golden hair:" There is no reason therefore to suppose with Brodæus <sup>7</sup>, that the allusion of Euripides is here to the golden clasps or fibulæ, which bound the hair of Apollo, according to the expression in Virgil,

*Comptos de more capillos.*

(Æn. l. 10. v. 832.)

<sup>1</sup> Olym. Od. 7. v. 58.

<sup>2</sup> V. 975.

<sup>3</sup> Argon. l. 4. v. 92.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1. c. 17. p. 281.

<sup>5</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 32. ed. Gale, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> Antiq. Expl. tom. 2. p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> Annot. in Ion. p. 111.

He

He might have been much more fortunate in his quotation from the same Roman Poet, since Virgil applies even to the hair of Apollo himself the ornament of gold,

Mollique fluentem  
Fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro.  
(Æn. 4. v. 148.)

And he says of Dido,

Crines nodantur in aurum.  
(Æn. 4. v. 138.)

But it is more natural to refer this expression of Creusa to the real brilliancy of the locks of her divine Lover, than to the artificial splendour of his golden head-dress. Dr. Musgrave corresponds with me in opinion; and directs us in his Note \* to the epithet of χρυσονόμους, used by our Poet in his Troadess, and by Aristophanes in his Birds <sup>10</sup>, where in both places it is applied to Apollo.

#### N° XXXIV.

Verse 889. Φάρεσιν ἑδρεπον.

As the vermeil flowers  
929. I gather'd in my vest.

THIS rural employment of Creusa with the consequences attending it recalls to our mind,

That fair field  
Of Enna, where Proserpine, gathering flowers,

\* On (V. 905.) in his edition.

<sup>9</sup> V. 255.

<sup>10</sup> V. 216.



Herſelf a fairer flower, by gloomy Diſ  
Was gather'd.

(Milton. Par. Loſt. B. 4. v. 271.)

Which Ovid and Claudian have both ſo beautifully de-  
ſcribed \*.

Quo dum Proſerpina luco  
Ludit, et aut violas, aut candida lilia carpit;  
Dumque puellari ſtudio calathosque ſinumque  
Implet, & æquales certat ſuperare legendo;  
Pæne ſimul viſa eſt, dilectaque, raptaque Diti;  
Uſque adcò properatur amor; Dea territa mæſto  
Et matrem, & comites, ſed matrem ſæpius, ore  
Clamat.

(Met. 5. v. 599.)

Æſtuat ante alias avido fervore legendi  
Frugiferæ ſpes una Deæ; nunc vimine texta  
Ridentes calathos ſpoliis agreſtibus implet.

(De Rap. Proſer. l. 2. car. 34. v. 139.)

We alſo learn from the Scholiaſt of Apollonius Rhodius,  
reciting the testimony of Chærilus, that Orithyia, the young-  
eſt Siſter of Creuſa, met with the ſame accident, as ſhe was  
gathering flowers near the fountain of Cephifus. (Argon.  
l. 1. v. 207.)

\* See alſo Cicero in Verrem. l. 4. c. 48.

## N° XXXV.

Verse 920.

Δάφνας

"Ἐρνεα φοῖνικα παρ' αἰροκόμαν.

And the laurel boughs

951. With the soft foliage of the palm o'erhung.

THE Laurel tree and the Palm are both again mentioned in our Author's Hecuba <sup>1</sup> and Iphigenia <sup>2</sup> in Tauris, as affording their joint assistance to Latona <sup>3</sup> in her act of parturition: For the Goddess reclined against them, and relieved herself from the pangs of travail. The learned Mr. Bryant <sup>4</sup> observes, "that the Jews used to carry boughs of the palm at some of their festivals, and particularly at the celebration of their nuptials; and it was thought to have an influence at the birth; Euripides alludes to this in his Ion, where he makes Latona recline herself against a Palm tree, when she is going to produce Apollo and Diana." To this observation we may add the authority of Ælian <sup>5</sup>, "that Latona at Delos, having grasped the Olive and the Palm, was instantly delivered, though before she was unable to accomplish it." The

<sup>1</sup> V. 458 & 459.<sup>2</sup> V. 1099 & 1100.<sup>3</sup> The Italian Translator Carmeli has absurdly mistaken the sense of this passage by supposing that Apollo, and not Latona, embraced the trees with his hands in the act of her parturition,

Dove Latona in luce  
 Ti pose con infigne  
 E venerando parto,  
 Colle tue man divine  
 Sirignendo tu l'alloro. (tom. 9. p. 131.)

<sup>4</sup> Anal. of Ant. Mythol. On Phoenix. vol. I. p. 321.<sup>5</sup> Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 4.

Scholiast <sup>6</sup> on Apollonius Rhodius confirms this custom of pregnant women discharging themselves of their burden by seizing some object presenting itself, as Latona did the Palm. Be this as it may, this Delian Palm is often mentioned by the Poets <sup>7</sup>, as consecrated to great longevity, and even to immortality, from this circumstance. Homer makes Ulysses assert in the *Odyssæ* <sup>8</sup>, that he saw it at Delos; and we have the testimony of Cicero <sup>9</sup>, that in his time this identical plant was reported to exist; *Quod Homericus Ulysses Deli se proceram & teneram palmam vidisse dixit, hodie monstrant eandem*: The same was still visible in the days of Pliny <sup>10</sup>; *Nec non palma Deli ab ejusdem Dei ætate conspicitur*. The Reader, who is astonished at this miraculous longevity, will apply the words of Cicero on the Oak of Marius with equal propriety to the Delian Palm; "*Manet vero, Attice noster, et semper manebit, fata est enim ingenio; nullius autem agricolæ cultu stirps tam diuturna, quam poetæ versu seminari potest*:" This, my dear Atticus, still exists, and for ever will exist, since it is sown by Genius: For no plant can be cultivated by Agriculture for a period of equal duration, as when it is sown by the verse of poetry: This, according to the saying of Scævola, will grow old through innumerable ages,

*Canescet sæclis innumerabilibus.*

(De Leg. l. 1. c. 1.)

<sup>6</sup> On l. 1. v. 1131. This passage is cited by Brodæus, in *Ion. Annot.* p. iii.

<sup>7</sup> Callim. *Hym. in Apol.* v. 4. & *Hym. in Del.* v. 210. See the Note of Spanheim on this last passage.

<sup>8</sup> L. 6. v. 163.

<sup>9</sup> De Leg. l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. Nat.* l. 16. c. 44. f. 89.

## N° XXXVI.

Verse 996. Ἦν Ἀργίδ' ὀνομαίζουσι Παλλάδος στολήν.

1029. The Ægis: so they call the vest of Pallas.

THE Ægis of Minerva, here described as her breast-plate, is represented to have been formed of the skin of the Gorgon: As this Monster had its bosom armed with vipers<sup>1</sup>, so the ægis was adorned with the same poetical appendage: Thus our Poet expressly tells us in the sequel of the play, that the Gorgon, embroidered by Creusa, was clasped with serpents in the manner of the ægis<sup>2</sup>. I think we may venture to pronounce with certainty, that from this description of Euripides Virgil painted on his Vulcanian shield for Æneas the following sublime emblem;

Ægidaque horrificam, turbatæ Palladis arma,  
Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant,  
Connexosque angues, ipsamque in pectore Divæ  
Gorgona.

(Æn. l. 8. v. 438.)

Some in a fringe the burnish'd serpents roll'd  
Round the dread ægis, bright with scales of gold;  
The horrid ægis, great Minerva's shield,  
When in her wrath she takes the fatal field;  
All charged with curling snakes the bos they rais'd,  
And the grim Gorgon's head tremendous blaz'd.

(Pitt. Æn. 8. v. 590.)

<sup>1</sup> V. 993.

<sup>2</sup> V. 1423.

Now there are here two features, which ascertain in my opinion the marked imitation of the Roman Poet from the Græcian Tragedian : The *Ægis* is not only fringed with serpents, but the Gorgon is also fixed on the breast of the Goddess : Both these striking circumstances are omitted by Homer in his description of the *ægis* of Minerva in the second<sup>3</sup> and fifth<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* : In the former of these passages, he only mentions an hundred clasps without specifying their particular appendage ; and in the latter, he throws round her shoulders the well-clasped *ægis*, as her shield : Our English Translator in both these instances has supplied the absence of serpents in the original :

Round the vast orb an hundred serpents roll'd,  
Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold.  
(Pope, *Il. B. 2. v. 529.*)

Round the margin roll'd,  
A fringe of serpents hissing guards the gold.  
(*B. 5. v. 913.*)

This addition he acknowledges in his note on the last passage, and observes from Spondanus, that “ Homer does not particularly describe this fringe of the *ægis*, as consisting of serpents; but that it did so may be learned from Herodotus in his fourth book : The Greeks, says he, borrowed the garment and *ægis* of the statues of Minerva from the Libyans, only with this difference, that among the Libyans the garment was of leather, and the clasps of the *ægis* were not serpents, but made of thongs of leather : In all other

<sup>3</sup> V. 447.

<sup>4</sup> V. 738.

respects they are fashioned in the same manner : The name moreover proves, that the stole of Minerva's statues comes from Libya : For the Libyan women wear over the rest of their apparel a plain goat's skin, fringed and dyed with red : and the Græcians from these goatskins have denominated their ægis <sup>5</sup> :” I have not only varied in this translation of Herodotus from that inserted in Mr. Pope's Homer to render it more exact ; but I have also enlarged the quotation in order to shew his derivation of the word. Diodorus Siculus varies in his account <sup>6</sup>, and represents the ægis, as the name of the monster, which Minerva slew : This he describes “ as a beast extremely terrible, and difficult to be conquered ; for it was the offspring of the earth, and naturally vomited incessant fire from its mouth :” After tracing the progress of its horrible ravages from Mount Taurus to Libya, he adds, “ that partly by the prudence and partly by the valour of this Goddess she vanquished it ; and then for the covering and security of her body against future dangers, as well as for a monument of her deserved reputation, she wore the skin of it, fastened round her breast <sup>7</sup> :” This assertion exactly corresponds with that of Euripides in the preceding line. But other Roman Poets, as well as Virgil, have also given the

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀγίων ταύτης αἰγίδος οἱ Ἕλληνες μίμνόμεσαν. (l. 4. c. 189. p. 285. ed. Gale.)

<sup>6</sup> There is also a third reason for this ægis, assigned by Tzetzes on Lycophron : This Commentator declares, that when Minerva contended with Pallas, Daughter of Triton, Jupiter during the contest displayed his ægis : This circumstance enabled Minerva to kill her Antagonist, as she cast her eyes upon it : The Goddess, afterwards concerned for her death, prepared a little image resembling her, and wore it on her bosom, which they called the ægis. (On V. 355.)

<sup>7</sup> Τὴν δὲ δὲ αὐτὴ περιεψαμένην φορεῖν τῷ στήθει. (l. 3. sec. 69. vol. 1. p. 239. ed. Wessel.)

poetical

poetical appendage of snakes to Minerva : Thus Claudian paints her,

Gorgoneisque premens affibilat hydris.

(De Rap. Proser, l. 3. v. 225.)

And Valerius Flaccus represents her ægis,

Horrentem colubris. (Argon. l. 6. v. 176.)

Hence also Milton,

What was that snaky-headed Gorgon-shield  
The wife Minerva wore?

(Mask. V. 447.)

Engravings of this military Goddess, thus accoutered, may be seen in Montfaucon<sup>a</sup> : We learn from Euripides in this play, that she was also invoked under the title of Γοργοφόναι, or the Gorgon-slayer. (V. 1478.)

#### N° XXXVII.

Verse 1048. Εἰνοδία.

1089. Propitious Régent of each publick way.

THE Deity, here invoked by the Chorus under the pellation of Εἰνοδία, is Proserpine or Hecate : The same thet again occurs in the Helena<sup>2</sup> of our Poet, and is used by Sophocles in his Antigone<sup>3</sup> : It implies the Patr

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 10. pl. 78, 79, 80. & c. 11. pl. 81:

<sup>2</sup> V. 576. <sup>3</sup> V. 1215.

of public ways, and is synonymous with the Roman Trivia : Thus, according to this idea, Virgil addresses the infernal Hecate,

Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes.

Æn. 4. v. 609.

As she presided over poison, which the Tutor was now preparing for Ion, Barnes remarks the propriety of this address of the Female Chorus.

### N° XXXVIII.

Verse

Τὸν πολὺῦμον

Θεὸν, εἰ παρὰ καλλιχόροις παγαῖς

Λαμπάδα θεῶν Εἰκάδων

1077.

Ὅψεσθαι ἐννύχιοσ' αὖπνος ὤν.

Thou, whom the various hymn delights,  
When thy bright choir of beauteous dames among,  
Dancing the stream's soft brink along,  
Thou seest, the guardian of thy mystick rites,  
Thy torch its midnight vigils keep,  
Thine eye meantime disdaining sleep.

1111.

The Chorus by this address invokes Bacchus according to the idea of Brodæus, Barnes, and Musgrave : But Heath applies it to Apollo : "because, says he<sup>1</sup>, Bacchus by no means interfered in this business : " If the Critick by this expression

<sup>1</sup> Per τὸν πολὺῦμον Θεὸν hic designatur Phœbus ; nam Bacchus huic negotio nequaquam se immiscuerat. (Notæ in Ionem. p. 140.)



asserts, that Apollo, and not Bacchus, was connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, to which the Chorus here undoubtedly alludes, he is extremely mistaken: for the latter, and not the former God, was concerned in their celebration. This appears from the Eleusinia <sup>2</sup> of Meursius, who has collected with his learned industry all the historical evidence on this subject; and I shall avail myself of his general information to illustrate this Strophe of Euripides. We learn from Hesychius <sup>3</sup>, "that not only Dionusos, and one of the days of the mysteries was called Iacchus; but also the song, which the initiated sung on this occasion:" Perhaps therefore our Poet might here allude to this circumstance by the epithet *καλύμνον*, or,

Thou, whom the various hymn delights.

The next expression in the original mentions the *καλλιχόροις παραῖς*, or the fountains frequented by beautiful Choruses: This is imagined by Heath <sup>4</sup> and Musgrave <sup>5</sup> to refer to a certain Well, called Callichorus: where the Women of Eleusis first instituted the dance, and celebrated the Goddess with hymns according to Pausanias <sup>6</sup>: Our Poet in his Supplices twice <sup>7</sup> alludes to this Well; and Callimachus in his Hymn to Ceres <sup>8</sup> declares, "that she seated herself on the ground by this Well of Callichorus:" Thus <sup>9</sup> Apollodorus remarks, "that on her first arrival at Eleusis Ceres rested herself on the rock of Agelastus near a Well called Callichorus." But the objection to this interpretation of Heath and Mus-

<sup>2</sup> C. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Vox *Ἰακχον*.

<sup>4</sup> Notæ in Ion. p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> See his Note on V. 1094. in his edition. <sup>6</sup> L. i. c. 38. p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> V. 392 & 619. <sup>8</sup> V. 16. <sup>9</sup> Bibliot. l. i. p. 8. ed. Æg. Spoliet. 1555.

grave is, that the original expression of Euripides alludes to fountains in the plural number, and not to the Well of Callichorus in the singular: I therefore offer to the Reader the following explanation: "In Attica, says Hesychius <sup>10</sup>, at Eleusis are two rivulets issuing from the fissure of the earth: And one of them, which runs towards the sea, is esteemed to belong to the elder Goddes; but the other towards the City is consecrated to the younger, where the Bands are purified by bathing:" Now these I conceive are here alluded to by the expression of fountains. The next circumstance, which occurs in these lines is the *Λαμπάδα* or Torch: As these mysteries were celebrated by night, this was an essential appendage: One of the titles of Bacchus was that of Nyctelius, or the Nocturnal God, as I shall mention in my Preliminary Essay on the Bacchæ: "What will become of Iacchus, and our Eumolpidæ <sup>11</sup>, says Cicero <sup>12</sup>, if we abolish the religious solemnities by night?" There is a scene in Aristophanes, where the Chorus of Initiated address Iacchus, and invoke him, as brandishing his burning torch, being the Lucifer of the nocturnal ceremony;

Ἐγείρε φλογέας λαμπά-  
δας, ἐν χερσὶ γὰρ ἔχεις  
Τινάστων Ἰακχέ  
Νυκτὲρ τελευτῆς φωσφόρος ἀστὴρ.

Ranæ, v. 346.

<sup>10</sup> ῥητοὶ, ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, δύο εἰσὶν οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσίνῃ ρεῖται, ῥήγμοι: καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τῆς πρεσβυτέρης θεῆς νομίζεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ ἄγρου, τῆς νεωτέρας, ὅθεν τὰς λειρὰς ἀγνίζεσθαι τὰς θιάσους. (vox ῥητοί.)

<sup>11</sup> These were so denominated from Eumolpus, the Founder of the Initiation at Eleusis, as appears from the authorities cited by Meursius in his Eleusinia. (c. 2. & 13.)

<sup>12</sup> Quid ergo agat Iacchus, Eumolpidæque nostri, & augusta illa mysteria, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus. (De Leg. l. 2. c. 14.)

Here the Scholiast observes, that at Eleufis there was a shrine of the God Dionufus; and we learn from Paufanias <sup>13</sup>, “that in the temple of Ceres at Athens there were images of the Goddefs herfelf, her Daughter, and of Iacchus with a torch.” Thus Pindar <sup>14</sup> calls Dionufus the Affociate of Ceres: And this myftick God in the Pagan Mythology was by fome confidered, as the fon of Ceres, and by others as the Son of Proferpine: Diodorus <sup>15</sup> Siculus mentions the former, as his Mother; but Hyginus <sup>16</sup>, Arrian <sup>17</sup>, Tzetzes <sup>18</sup>, and the Scholiast <sup>19</sup> of Pindar, refer it to the latter. Hence we difcover the immediate propriety of this invocation of him by the Chorus, who in the fequel of the Strophe <sup>20</sup> mentions both Proferpine and Ceres. It only remains to illuftrate the expreffion of *Εἰκάδων*: This was the 20th day of the Attick month Boedromion, as we are exprefsly informed by Plutarch <sup>21</sup>, who adds, “that on this day they carried the God Iacchus in folemn proceffion from the City of Athens to Eleufis:” And the Scholiast <sup>22</sup> of Ariftophanes remarks, “that one of the days of the myfteries, on which they invoked Iacchus, was called the *Εἰκάς*.” I have now fully demonftrated by unravelling the hiftorical allufions in this paffage of Euripides, that Bacchus, and not Apollo according to the idea of Heath, muft be the Deity addreffed. But, independent of the connexion of the former in the Eleufinian Myfteries,

<sup>13</sup> Πλησίον γὰρ ἐστὶ Διμήτρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῆς τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δῶδα ἔχουσι  
<sup>14</sup> *Ἰακχος*. L. 1. c. 2. p. 6. <sup>15</sup> *Isth. Od.* 7. v. 3.

<sup>16</sup> L. 3. c. 62. ed. Weffelin. vol. I. p. 231. <sup>17</sup> *Fab.* 155.

<sup>18</sup> *De Exped. Alex.* 1. 2.

<sup>19</sup> On Lycophron (v. 355.)

<sup>20</sup> On *Isth. Od.* 7. v. 3.

<sup>21</sup> V. 1086 & 187.

<sup>22</sup> Phocion, ed. Bryan, vol. 4. p. 202. This paffage is cited by Brodæus, and inferted in the Editions of Barnes and Mufgrave.

<sup>23</sup> On the *Ranæ*, (v. 326.) This paffage is cited by Barnes from Meurfius. (*Eleufi.* c. 27.

there

there is another reason, arising from the internal evidence of this Choral Ode, why the latter should not be here mentioned by the Female Chorus : Because they have already been imploring in the preceding part of it the Infernal Hecate to assist the intended poison now prepared for Ion, Minister of Apollo; and here by a solemn appeal to the tutelary Deities of the Mysteries at Athens they express their abhorrence in the strongest terms, that " this Delphick vagrant<sup>23</sup> should mount the throne of their state; and consequently participate of those sacred rites, from which all Foreigners were excluded according to the original institution of Eumolpus<sup>24</sup>.

## Nº XXXIX.

Verse 1127. Ὀπτήριον.

A grateful offering for his Son

1156. Thus recognized.

THE ὀπτήριον was properly a present, bestowed on the first sight of an object by a Friend. Thus, when Phœbe in Æschylus presents Phœbus with a gift at his birth, the Scholiast<sup>1</sup> there expressly says, that it was for an ὀπτήριον : In the same manner Vulcan is described by Callimachus, as inviting Latona to bring her infant Diana,

Ὅπως ὀπτήρια δοίη. (Hym. in Dian. v. 74.)

<sup>23</sup> V. 1089. <sup>24</sup> Ἄλλ' ὁ θεὸς τὰ μυστήρια ἐκέλευε ξένους μὴ μυθισθαι. (Tzetzes ad Lycophron, cited in Meursius Eleuf. c. 2.) See also c. 19. where this learned author has collected the whole evidence on the subject of this exclusion.

<sup>1</sup> On the Eumen. V. 7.

According

According to Julius Pollux, when the veil was removed from the Bride, the Bridegroom presented her with an *ὀπτήριον*, as a Græcian compliment. (l. 2. c. 59. & l. 3. c. 36.)

## N° XL

Verse 1145. Ἀμαζόνων σκυλεύματα.

1176. Which from the Amazonian spoils.

THE History of the Amazons may be seen in Diodorus Siculus: He mentions in his third book <sup>1</sup>, “that the most ancient Nation of this name inhabited Libya, and was extinct many generations prior to the Trojan War: But that, which lived about the river Thermodon, flourished just before: That Posterity had confounded the actions of the former with those of the latter:” He then relates from the Historian Dionysius the institutions and conquests of these Amazonians of Africa <sup>2</sup>; and at last observes, “that they were entirely destroyed by Hercules <sup>3</sup>, when travelling into the Western parts, he erected the pillar in Libya: For this Hero, whose object it was to be an universal Benefactor to Mankind, thought it an insufferable thing for him to overlook any Nation, governed by Women.” In his second <sup>4</sup> book he treats of the Amazons near the river Thermodon, whose military policy and savage institutions are represented, as similar to the former; and consisted in inverting the order of nature in regard to the different occupations of Men and Women:

<sup>1</sup> L. 3. c. 52. p. 220. vol. 1. ed. Wessel.

<sup>2</sup> See also Bryant's Anal. of Ant. Mythol. vol. 2. p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> L. 3. p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> L. 2. p. 156.

“ They

“ They mutilated the limbs of the former, and cut off the right breast of the latter ; from which circumstance they are generally understood to derive their name.” He adds, “ That after many generations, the renown of these Amazons being extended over the whole globe, Hercules <sup>5</sup>, Son of Jupiter and Alcmena, received the injunction of Eurystheus to procure the belt of their Queen Hippolyta : This he accomplished, and entirely enervated the whole force of the Nation ; so that they became an easy prey to the Barbarians ; and their name was at last annihilated. Hence it appears, that, according to the express testimony of this Historian, Hercules was the Conqueror of both the Nations of these Amazons, who flourished in different ages and different countries : Unless therefore we attribute these events to different Heroes of the name of Hercules, one of these fabulous stories, as proved by internal evidence, must be erroneous. Those near the river Thermodon are probably the Amazons here alluded to by the Poet ; since these are most frequently mentioned, as by Æschylus in his *Prometheus* <sup>6</sup>, and by Dionysius <sup>7</sup> in his description of the globe : And our Poet, in his *Hercules Furens*, evidently alludes to them,

O'er the black Euxine's hoarse-resounding wave  
He fought the Amazonian host. (v. 467.)

An engraving of Hercules, in the act of divesting the Amazon of her girdle, may be seen in the *Polymetis* <sup>8</sup> : And in the description of the temple of Olympian Jupiter at Elis Pausanias <sup>9</sup> men-

<sup>5</sup> L. 2. p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> V. 724.

<sup>7</sup> V. 774. See also the Comment of Eustathius on p. 156 & 157. ed. Hill, 1688.

<sup>8</sup> Pl. 8. Fig. 10.

<sup>9</sup> L. 5. c. 10. p. 400.

tions, "that Hercules was there represented in a similar attitude." There is also in the first Volume of the Greek Antiquities by Grævius an engraving of the engagement of Hercules with the Amazon.

## N° XLI.

Verse 1150. Μελώμπειλος δὲ Νύξ.

1183. Meanwhile the Night, robed in her sable stole.

Thus Silius Italicus dresses the Night,

Nox atro circumdata corpus amictu

Nigrantes invexit equos.

(L. 15. v. 285.)

And Fulgentius,

Tum nox stellato mundum circumlita peplo.

(Auct. Myth. ed. Stav. l. i. p. 617.)

Perhaps Milton<sup>1</sup>, from this epithet in Euripides, borrowed his corresponding expression of "sable-vested Night." But the exclamation of Shakespeare's Juliet has also a natural resemblance,

Come, civil Night,

Thou sober-suited matron, all in black.

(A. 3. f. 2.)

Here we must acknowledge, that Genius was indebted to Nature, and not to Imitation.

<sup>1</sup> Par. Lost. B. 2. v. 962.

N<sup>o</sup> XLII.

Ἀσείρωλον ζυγοῖς

Verse 1151. Ὀχημ' ἐπαλλεν ἄσρα δ' ὠμάρῃει θέα.

Her unrein'd Car advances ; on her state  
1185. The stars attend.

I Have proved in a preceding Note <sup>1</sup>, that the quadriga, or chariot drawn by four horses, was the poetical prerogative of the Sun ; and have there <sup>2</sup> mentioned, that the Goddess Night was only honoured with the humbler biga, or the car drawn by two horses : To this I imagine Euripides here alludes under the expression of ἀσείρωλον ζυγοῖς, or her unrein'd car : But, in order to demonstrate it, we must analyze the term, and illustrate the Græcian custom. Our Poet in his Iphigenia <sup>3</sup> in Aulis has been very circumstantial as to the horses of the quadriga ; for he tells us, that those in the middle were called ζυγιοί, and the extreme ones σειραφόροι : The first of these words implies, that the two in the middle were yoked ; but the latter imports, that the other two carried reins : Thus Julius Pollux <sup>4</sup> corresponds with our Poet, and defines the expressions in the same manner, concluding that their reins are called σειραί. When Orestes in the Pythian Games of Sophocles approaches the goal, he is de-

<sup>1</sup> On V. 82. p. 35.<sup>2</sup> P. 37.<sup>3</sup> Τὰς μὲν μίσσας ζυγίους,

Τὰς δ' ἔξω σειραφόρους.

(V. 223.)

<sup>4</sup> Ὡς οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ ζυγιοί· οἱ δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν, παρήμωροι, καὶ παράσκιμοι, καὶ σειραφόροι, καὶ σειραῖοι, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἦναι, σειραί. (l. I. c. 10. p. 141. vol. 1. p. 97. ed. Hemster.)



scribed in his *Electra*, as slackening the extreme horse, or the *σειραιῶν ἵππων*<sup>5</sup>: And *Æschylus* in his *Agamemnon* twice uses the expression of *σειρασφόρος* in a metaphorical sense: In the first instance, to express a faithful and united Associate, the King bestows this epithet on *Ulysses*: Here the learned *Stanley*<sup>6</sup> in his note remarks, “that in the quadriga to each horse, which was yoked, was added a *σειρασφόρος*, or a horse governed by reins only, *funalis*; and he adds, that this custom was instituted by *Clisthenes*: For according to *Isidorus* the chariots of the quadriga were formerly with a double pole; and the connected yoke was thrown over all the horses: But *Clisthenes* the *Sicyonian* was the first, that yoked only the middle ones; and to each of them applied on each side by a simple attachment, what the Greeks termed *σειρασφόροι*, and the Latins *funarii*.” In the other passage of this play, where the word occurs, it is used with the negative particle<sup>7</sup>

to

<sup>5</sup> V. 724.<sup>6</sup> *Ζευχθεῖς ἵτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειρασφόρος.* (V. 851.)

Yoked in his martial harness from my side

Swerv'd not. (Potter. *Agam.* vol. 2. p. 68.)

The English Translator is here inaccurate; for the *σειρασφόρος* was never yoked, but only reined: Yet it is remarkable, that *Stanley*, notwithstanding his excellent explication, immediately subsequent, has himself fallen inadvertently into this error: for he says that *Agamemnon* by a metaphor extremely elegant calls *Ulysses* his *σειρασφόρον*, as bearing with him for his part the yoke. “*Agamemnon* *Ulysses* *σειρασφόρον* sibi esse dicit metaphorâ elegantissimâ, quasi pro sua parte jugum secum ferentem: Etenim in quadrigâ utrique equo jugali *ζυγίῳ* adjungebatur *funalis* *σειρασφόρος*; idque ex instituto *Clisthenis*. *Isidorus*, *Quadrigarum* vero *currus* duplici *temone* olim erant, perpetuoque & quod omnibus equis injiceretur *jugo*. *Primus* *Clisthenes* *Sicyonius* tantum *medios* jugavit, eisque singulos ex utrâque parte simplici *vinculo* applicuit, quos *Græci* *σειρασφόροι*, *Latini*, *funarios* appellant.”

<sup>7</sup> Τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθίοντα*Ζεύξω βαρεῖαις, ὅντι μὴ σειρασφόρον,**Κριθάνω πᾶλον.* (V. 1650.)

Ut

to imply a subject, disobedient to the royal edict, like a horse reluctant to the rein : But on the contrary in our Poet the affectionate and faithful Pylades is called the *παράσιμος*<sup>8</sup>, or the attached Friend of his Orestes. Hence from the above investigation we collect, that the expression of *ἀσείρωτον ζυγῶϊς* in this passage of the Ion, when analyzed, will imply, that this car of Night had no connexion with the *σειρά*, or rein attached to the yoke ; it was consequently a biga, and not a quadriga, a chariot drawn by two, and not by four horses. The Latin version therefore of Brodæus, Canter, Barnes, and Musgrave<sup>9</sup>, which is “ nullis astrictum jugis,” conveys an improper idea ; for the car was yoked, as I apprehend, with the *ζυγῶϊς* : It ought to be “ nullo funali equo jugo astrictum,” unharnessed with any *σειραῖοι*, or extreme horses to the yoke. Having established this interpretation of

Ut non funalem se præbentem  
Lascivientem pullum. (Stanley.)  
Whom e'er I find unwilling to submit,  
Him, like an high-fed and unruly horse,  
Reluctant to the harness, rigor soon  
Shall tame. (Potter, Agam. vol. 2. p. 127.)

<sup>8</sup> Πῶδ' ἀνδρόνυμ παράσιμος. (Orest. v. 1017 )  
The Scholiast here gives a false definition of this word, for he says, that it properly signifies the horse, which follows behind the car.

*Παράσιμος*, κυρίως ὁ ὀπίσω τῷ ἀρμαίῳ ἐπόμενος ἵππος.  
But this is directly contrary to its derivation, and the assertion of Julius Pollux ; nor is the remark of Barnes more accurate, when he says, *Proprie equus, qui ad aliq̄s latus jugatus trahit* ; for I have already proved that the *παράσιμος* was not *jugatus*, or yoked.

<sup>9</sup> This Editor however in his Note on (v. 1169) in his edition has rendered *ἀσείρωτον*, “ nullo tunc connexum,” but the idea intended to be conveyed by it, is very different from mine, since he adds, “ As in Painting you see the horses of Aurora, unconnected with any traces to her car, but held only by bridles.” His explication therefore has nothing to do with the biga, any more than with the quadriga ; but only supposes this poetical car, governed by the bridles, and not by the traces : But my idea is, that it was unreined with extreme horses only, being a biga.

the word ἀσείρωτον, I shall now proceed to shew by other classical authority, that the poetical car of night was a biga— There is a fragment of our Poet from his play of the Andromeda, preserved in Aristophanes <sup>10</sup>, and the Scholiast <sup>11</sup> of Theocritus; where Night is personified and represented, as riding in her car through the sacred Æther; but the expression here does not ascertain the number of horses: It appears however from Varro <sup>12</sup>, that Ennius translated this Andromeda of Euripides, and she thus addresses Night, as riding in her biga, or car drawn by two horses,

Quæ cava cœli signitinentibus  
Conscis bigeis.

The other Roman Poets, after this Tragedian, as Virgil <sup>13</sup>, Claudian <sup>14</sup>, Valerius Flaccus <sup>15</sup>, and Silius Italicus <sup>16</sup>, constantly assign to this Goddess the same humble equipage of the biga: The only exception indeed to the contrary, which I believe is unparalleled, where she is honoured with the quadriga, is in Tibullus,

Jam

<sup>10</sup> Ὡ Νύξ ἱερὰ  
Ὡς μακρὸν ἵππαιμα δώκεις  
Ἀγροειδέα νωτὰ διφρεὺς  
Σ' αἰθέρος ἱερᾶς  
Τῷ σεμνοτάτῃ δὲ Ὀλύμπῳ. (Theſmop. v. 1078.)

<sup>11</sup> On Idyl. 2. v. 166.

<sup>12</sup> De Lin. Lat. 4. See Columna in Enn. Fragm. p. 408. and his comment on this passage, where he proves, that the word Andromacha in Varro is a mistake for Andromeda.

<sup>13</sup> Et Nox atra polum bigis investa tenebat. (Æn. 5. v. 721.)

<sup>14</sup> Nox humida fomno  
Languida cœruleis invexerat otia bigis. (Curm. 33. v. 275.)

<sup>15</sup> Lentis hæret Nox conscia bigis. (L. 3. v. 211.)

<sup>16</sup> Luna immixtis per cœrula bigis. (Pun. l. 3. v. 59.)

Jam Nox æthereum nigris emensa quadrigis,  
Mundum cæruleo laverat amne rotas,

(L. 3. cl. 4. v. 18.)

For the Ancients were in general extremely uniform in regard to the poetical appendages of their visionary Deities : But these have been greatly diversified by the imagination of Modern Poets, who have often deviated from the venerable example of Classical Antiquity : To illustrate this assertion from two examples of our own country, Spenser, speaking of Night, describes

Her twyfold teme, of which two black as pitch,  
And two were brown.

Fairy Queen, B. 1. cant. 5. st. 28.

And the learned Milton, in one of his juvenile poems, has contrived from his own fertile invention, to furnish this Goddess with four horses, whom he honours with names of Græcian derivation,

Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna relinquit,  
Præcipitesque impellit equos stimulante flagello,  
Captum oculis Typhlonta, Melanchætēque ferocem,  
Atque Acherontæo prognatam patre Siopen,  
Torpidam & hirsutis horrentem Phrica capillis.

In. quint. Novem. ed. Newton. vol. 3. p. 643.

It only remains to observe, that as the Stars are here painted by Euripides, as the Followers of Night, so Theocritus has annexed them, as Attendants on her Car,

" Ἀστὲρες εὐκῆλοιο καὶ ἄγρυγα νυκτὸς ὄπαιοι.

Idyl. 2. v. 166.

And also Tibullus,

Ludite, jam Nox jungit equos, currumque sequuntur  
Matris lascivo sidera fulva choro.

(L. 2. El. 1. v. 88.)

### N° XLIII.

Verse 1153. *Ξιφήρης Ὀρίων.*

1186. And with his glitt'ring sword Orion arm'd,

AS the epithet of *Ξιφήρης*, or the sword bearer, is here bestowed on Orion, so we find in Ovid <sup>1</sup> ensifer and ensiger, applied to the same Constellation: Thus Hyginus <sup>2</sup> in his *Poeticon Astronomicum* describes him *incinctum ense*, or furnished with a sword; and observes, "that on the part of the heaven where that is represented, there are three obscure stars." The Reader may there see his figure, corresponding to this idea: The time of the rising and setting of this sword of Orion is mentioned by Pliny <sup>3</sup>. It may perhaps be worthy of observation, how extremely different among the Greeks and Romans is the metre of the word Orion: Here the penultima must be short, as it constitutes the fourth foot of the Iambick: But in Homer <sup>4</sup> and Hesiod <sup>5</sup> it is long; since we there find at the end of a verse *σθένος Ὀρίωνος*: The Romans often adopted this last metre, as Virgil,

*Armatusque auro circumspicit Oriona.*

(*Æn.* l. 3. v. 517.)

<sup>1</sup> Fast. l. 4, v. 388. & De Art. Aman. L. 2. v. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Mythol. Latin. ed. Stav. p. 535. & pl. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Nat. Hist. l. 18. c. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Il. 18. v. 486.

<sup>5</sup> Op. & Di. v. 598 & 615.

And

And Lucan,

Eniferi nimium fulget latus Orionis.

(L. 1. v. 665.)

Also Claudian,

Gladique tremendum

Gurgite fidereo subterluit Oriona.

(Carm. 28. v. 177.)

But Ovid makes the penultima of the Genitive case short,

Nitidumque Orionis ensem.

(Met. 1. 13. v. 294.)

The three last instances equally serve to illustrate the astronomical appearance of the sword, as here described: The Roman Poets also make the antepenultima of the nominative short, though derived from the Omega of the Greeks, as Virgil uses,

Nimbofus Orion.

(Æn. 1. v. 539.)

Thus in one word there are five <sup>6</sup> opposite variations of metre; since the antepenultima and penultima in the different Cases are both occasionally long or short, which perhaps is an instance unparalleled.

<sup>6</sup> In the first syllable 'Ωρίων and 'Orion; in the second 'Ωρίων and 'Ωρίωνος; and in the third Oriōna and Oriōnis.

## N° XLIV.

Verse 1160. *Εὐηρέτους νᾶυς ἀντίας Ἑλληνίσιν.*

1195. Against the fleet of Græce the hostile fleet.

ACCORDING to the idea of Barnes, which is adopted by Heath<sup>1</sup> and Musgrave<sup>2</sup>, Euripides here alludes to the naval engagement of the Greeks with the Barbarians at Salamis. The English Translator communicated to me a difficulty upon this construction, as involving an enormous anachronism; which could scarcely be imagined to flow from Euripides, or to be tolerated by an Athenian Audience. “Shakespear, says he, might as well have introduced the Officer of Henry the Fifth, speaking of the defeat of the Spanish Armada before the battle of Agincourt.” I assent to this ingenious observation: for though in a preceding line, as in those immediately subsequent, and both allude to the labours of Hercules, the exact chronology<sup>3</sup> is perfectly observed; yet this deviation in a point of remote antiquity is far different from the gross and recent anachronism contained in this line, according to the above interpretation: If the Ancient Tragedians are to be indulged with this monstrous licentiousness, there is an end of all historical propriety in their dramas: Some of the Spectators of the Play at Athens were probably at the victory of Salamis, which event is said to have happened on the very day when the Poet was born: And is it to be imagined, that Eurip

<sup>1</sup> Not. in Ion. p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Note on (V. 1178.) of his Edition.

<sup>3</sup> V. 1144.

<sup>4</sup> See my Note on (v. 192.) p. 87.

would flatter the vanity of his Countrymen so egregiously at the expense of their common understandings, as he must inevitably have done, if this line in the Ion alluded to the naval Glory of the Græcians on that day? I have already<sup>5</sup> proved, that the æra of the drama may be fairly calculated at 1373 years before CHRIST: Now the Battle of Salamis was only 481 years before that event, according to the record of the Arundelian Marbles<sup>6</sup>: There is therefore the vast difference of 892 years, which is a term above five<sup>7</sup> times greater than the anachronism, flowing from the battle of Agincourt and the Spanish Armada, when inverting each other in the order of Chronology: I cannot imagine that Euripides could be guilty of this violation of the unity of time by a single verse, which would occasion a motley piece of tapestry of the most barbarous contexture: We must therefore endeavour to discover for the reputation of our Græcian Poet another allusion in this passage, more consistent with historical propriety. Mr. Potter suggested to me, "that some event, in which Hercules was concerned, and perhaps Æetes's pursuit of the Argo, when Jason carried away the Golden Fleece, is here intended:" I am inclined to adopt this ingenious conjecture; and proceed to confirm it on principles of Grammar and of History: By the former, because the line then naturally con-

<sup>5</sup> See my Note on V. 19. p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> "Since Xerxes having passed the Hellespont over a bridge of boats fought the battle of Thermopylæ at the same time that his fleet was defeated by the Greeks near Salamis, Callias at that time Archon of Athens, 217 years." If we add to this ancient record 264 years, as the date of its inscription preceding the Christian æra, the amount as stated will be 481 years. (See Dufrenoy's Chronological Tables, Vol. I. p. 89 & 177.)

<sup>7</sup> Since from the year 1415, in the reign of Henry the Fifth to 1588 in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there is a difference only of 173, which multiplied by 5 gives 865 years.



nects, as united with the conjunction copulative, with the two immediately subsequent lines, which manifestly allude to the labours of Hercules: By the last, because Diodorus<sup>8</sup> Siculus asserts, “that Hercules sailed in concert with Jason to Colchis;” and in his description of the Argonautick Expedition he informs us, “that the assembling Chiefs chose Hercules for their Leader in consequence of his valour:” But according to Hyginus<sup>9</sup>, he refused the command, though offered, in favour of Jason: Thus Pindar<sup>10</sup> and Apollonius Rhodius<sup>11</sup> represent him as the companion of Jason in this enterprize. When the object of their voyage, the Golden Fleece, was obtained, Diodorus<sup>12</sup> Siculus in another passage relates, “that many of the Ancient, as well as Modern Historians, among whom was Timæus, recorded, that the Argonauts having heard, that the mouth of the Pontus was blocked up by the ships of Æetes, performed a wonderful operation in their return by another passage.” Here then we discover an hostile opposition of ships, which were the property of Barbarians, against those of the Græcians: If it should be objected to this interpretation, that the expedition of these Heroes to Colchis is generally represented to have consisted only of a single ship, the Argo; and that the expression of *Ἑλληνισιν* is here in the plural number, it must

<sup>8</sup> L. 4. p. 261 & 285. vol. 1. ed. Wessél.  
ed. Myth. Lat.

<sup>10</sup> Pyth. Od. 4. v. 305.

<sup>9</sup> Fab. 14. p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> L. 1. v. 123.

<sup>12</sup> Οὐκ ὀλίγοι γὰρ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων συγγραφίων καὶ τῶν μέλανες γένων (ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Τίμαιος· φασὶ τὴν Ἀργοναύταν μετὰ τὴν τῷ δῖραλος ἀρπαγὴν, πυθόμενης ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰέτι προκαταλήφθαι ναυσὶ τὸ στόμα τῷ Πόντῳ, πράξιν ἐπιτελέσασθαι παραδόξου καὶ μνημῆ; ἀξίαν. (L. 4. c. 56. p. 300. ed. Wessél.)

be allowed, that the most general idea of it supposes it only one: But Eustathius<sup>13</sup> in his comment on Dionysius Periegetes cites the testimony of Charax, an Historian, for the assertion, "that the Argonauts sailed into the Euxine, not with one ship, according to the report of many concerning the Argo, but with many ships:" And Lilius Gyraldus<sup>14</sup> in his treatise de re Nauticâ mentions the following passage of Pliny; "Longâ nave Jasonem primum navigâsse Philostephanus Autor est: Charax vero non solum nave, sed classe Jasonem navigâsse scriptum reliquit:" It is remarkable, that the latter part of this sentence, which contains the express testimony of Charax to the same purpose, as before mentioned from Eustathius, is not found in Pliny<sup>15</sup>, where the rest of it now occurs. If the above interpretation be not satisfactory to the Reader, we must then admit, that Euripides in his picturesque description of the several objects on the Delphick tapestry conveys in this line a poetical image without an express allusion to any historical event.

<sup>13</sup> Ἰσορῆ δὲ Χάραξ τὰς Ἀργοναύτας, ἑμίᾳ νηὶ (κατὰ τὸν πολὺν περὶ τῆς Ἀργεῖς λόγον) ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς πλοίοις εἰσπλιῦσαι τὸν Εὐξείνιον. (On v. 687. p. 130. ed. Hill.)

<sup>14</sup> Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56. ed. Harduin, vol. 1. p. 417.

<sup>15</sup> C. 1, tom. 1. p. 602. ed. 1696.

N<sup>o</sup> XLV.

Verse Καὶ μῆξ' ὀθηρὰς φῶτας, ἰππείας τ' ἄγρ' αἶας,

1162. Ἐλαΐφων, λεόντων τ' ἀγρίων θηράματα.

Monstrous forms pourtray'd,

Human and brutal mix'd: the Thracian steeds

Are seiz'd, the hinds, and the advent'rous chase

1199. Of savage lions.

THESE lines most probably allude to four distinct labours of Hercules: The Centaurs are the Monsters, compounded of the human and brutal form, whom Sophocles <sup>1</sup> calls διφυῆ of a double nature, and which Cicero <sup>2</sup> has translated bicorporeum manum: Thus our Poet in his Hercules Furens has painted them in the same manner,

The four hoof'd monsters of the Centaur race.

(Potter, v. 202.)

And again, in the same play <sup>3</sup>, where Hercules enumerates his own labours, he confers the appellation of quadrupeds upon them: Virgil <sup>4</sup>, Ovid <sup>5</sup>, and Silius Italicus <sup>6</sup>, have also bestowed the epithet of bimembres upon these Centaurs. The remaining part of the line refers to the horses of the Thracian King Diomedes, which Hercules, having conquered their Master, carried away: These are again mentioned in our Poet's Alceſtis <sup>7</sup>, where the living Hero is introduced at

<sup>1</sup> Trach. v. 1111.

<sup>2</sup> Tusc. Quæſt. l. 2. c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> V. 1272.

<sup>4</sup> Æn. 8. v. 293.

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 9. v. 99.

<sup>6</sup> L. 3. v. 42.

<sup>7</sup> V. 483.

he Court of Admetus, preparing his immediate expedition for this object. As they are here embroidered in the Delphick tapestry, actually obtained by Hercules, it consequently follows from internal evidence, that the Alceſtis in the order of Chronology ſhould regularly precede the Ion: but I have already<sup>8</sup> proved in this play, and ſhall alſo ſhew in the Alceſtis<sup>9</sup>, that the Ion may be calculated to precede the Alceſtis by 188 years: Euripides muſt therefore be allowed to be here guilty of an anachroniſm in this point of Antiquity, if theſe lines refer to Hercules. The purſuit of the ſtag, mentioned in the next verſe, alludes to another labour of this Hero, or the brazen-footed ſtag, called by Virgil<sup>10</sup> and other Authors<sup>11</sup> *Æripedem Cervam*. The Lions, are the Nemean and Theumeſian<sup>12</sup>, which are well known to have been among the celebrated labours of this immortal Conqueror. If the Engliſh Reader is deſirous to view engravings of Hercules, engaged in theſe different enterprizes, I refer him to the *Polymetis*<sup>13</sup> of Spence, who has there alſo given an elegant illuſtration of them. Theſe objects are deſcribed by Silius Italicus, as repreſented in the portal of the Temple of Hercules at Gades in Spain, in the following lines,

Juxtà Thraces equi, peſtiſque Erymanthia, & altos  
 Æripedis ramos ſuperantia cornua cervæ;  
 Nec levior vinci Libycæ telluris alumnus  
 Matre ſuper, ſtratique genus deforme bimembres  
 Centauri. (L. 3. v. 42.)

<sup>8</sup> See my Note on V. 192. p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> See my Note on V. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Æn.* 6. v. 802. <sup>11</sup> *Mart.* l. 9. ep. 104. v. 7. *Sil. Ital.* l. 3. v. 39. & *Auſon Idyll.* 19. <sup>12</sup> *Hyginus Fab.* 30. *Mythog. Lat. ed. Slav.* p. 81. & *Statius Theb.* l. 1. v. 487. <sup>13</sup> *Dial.* 9. & *Pl.* 18. fig. 1. 2. 8.

On this passage in the edition of this Poet by Drakenborch other engravings, corresponding to the above description, are inserted. We may also discover a wonderful conformity between the representations on this Delphick Tapestry, and the images of the Temple of Jupiter at Elis, as described by Pausanias <sup>14</sup>: For there was the Sun represented, mounting into his chariot: There too was the Moon driving her horse: There likewise were the labours of Hercules, and among them, his victory over the Thracian Diomedes, the Stag, and the Nemean Lion: There was also Theseus destroying the Centaurs: These striking features of correspondence shew, that such objects were the favourite representations of Græcian Poetry, Painting, and Sculpture; and that the different Artists often copied from each other in their respective productions. Hence perhaps we may acquit Euripides of the imputed anachronism just mentioned, if we suppose the images here delineated, as that of the preceding verse, to be general, and not personally alluding to the actions of Hercules.

## N° XLVI.

Verse 1164. *Σπείρας συνελίσσονται*?

Cecrops roll'd  
His serpent train.

ACCORDING to the fabulous mythology, Cecrops was partly invested with the serpentine, and partly with the

<sup>14</sup> L. 5. c. 10. p. 400. & l. 5. c. 11. p. 403. ed. Kuhn.

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. Bibliot. l. 3. p. 127. ed. Æg. Spol. 1555.

human form, and for this reason he acquired the epithet of διφυής, or of a double nature. "This title, says Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, was not derived to him, as some believe, because he was converted from a good into a merciless Tyrant; but on the contrary, because he became a mild and gentle Prince, though before inflexible and formidable:" The reason of this appellation, according to Athenæus<sup>3</sup>, arose "from his first institution at Athens of the union of the sexes in matrimony, which confined two individuals to each other; but, as promiscuous concubinage before his time was allowed, no one with certainty could ascertain his father:" This idea is still more unfolded by Tzetzes<sup>4</sup> on Lycophron; who, having mentioned the various reasons assigned for this fable, says, "I allegorize it in this manner; because he thus reduced, being a virtuous Monarch, the savageness of Nations to his authority; so that all esteemed him unanimously an excellent Leader and Governor: And for that reason they call him διφυή of a double nature: Or, as I have found in John of Antioch, because the women in Hellas had formerly a brutal and irrational mode of union without any connexion of marriage; their children were then μονοφυεῖς, or of one nature only, for they knew their mother and not their father: But Cecrops, reigning over Attica, abolished this savage licentiousness, and instituted the legal union in matrimony of the two sexes: Since from this period Children had a knowledge of both their Parents, who were the Authors of their being, and participated of two natures, therefore Cecrops, as the Founder of this institution, was denominated διφυής."

<sup>2</sup> De serâ Num. vindictâ, vol. 2. ed. Xylan. p. 551.

<sup>3</sup> L. 13. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> On v. 111.

The solution of this allegory according to Demosthenes, as cited in this note of Tzetzes, was, "because Cecrops was equal to a Serpent in valour, and to a Man in prudence: But others, adds he, refer it to his knowledge in two languages, the Ægyptian and Hellenick." Eustathius<sup>5</sup> in his comment on Dionysius imagines, that the "transformation of Cecrops from a serpent into a Man implied, that on his arrival in Græce he divested himself of Ægyptian barbarity, and embraced excellent refinements of policy: The reverse of this happened to the Thebans: for they, after their civilization by Cadmus and Harmonia, relapsed into a state of barbarity." The Reader may consult Meursius<sup>6</sup> on this subject, and Bryant in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology<sup>7</sup>. A figure of the double Cecrops, as Matrimonii Suafor, or the Adviser of Matrimony, representing a male and female head, united with a Serpent twisting round, may be seen in the first volume of the Greek Antiquities of Gronovius.

## N° XLVII.

Verse 1167. Κῆρυξ.

The Herald

1203. Walk'd his round.

THE following lines contain an interesting description of the ceremonies at a Græcian entertainment; I shall illustrate them in their order. We learn from this passage, that the

<sup>5</sup> On V. 391.

<sup>6</sup> De Reg. Att. l. 1. c. 8. & De Fort Athen. c. 1. p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. 1. p. 484.

Guests were invited to the feast by the proclamation of the Herald: Thus in the *Odyssæy* the Suitors of Penelope are summoned for that purpose by Medon the Herald.

(L. 17. V. 172.)

## N° XLVIII.

Verse 1169. *Στεφάνοισι κοσμηθέντες.*

1206. Crown'd with garlands.

THE custom among the Greeks of wearing garlands at their feasts is often mentioned; and the injunction of the convivial *Archestratus*, as preserved in *Athenæus*<sup>1</sup>, was,

Whene'er invited to the genial feast,

Let Nature's flowery wreaths your temples twine.

The same Author<sup>2</sup> has enumerated the constituent flowers of the garland; and has mentioned the medicinal reasons for their use: These are also discussed by *Plutarch* in his *Symposiacks*<sup>3</sup>, where he observes, "that the effluvia of flowers has a wonderful virtue in fortifying the citadel of the brain against intoxication; for those that are hot, opening the pores, give the fumes free passage to exhale; while those, which are moderately cold, repel the ascending vapours: For this reason, continues he, *Bacchus* taught his Revellers the use of ivy against the violence of debauch, the heat of the liquor being remitted by its coldness." Thus *Hercules* is

<sup>1</sup> Αἶσι δὲ στεφάνοισι χάρα παρὰ δαῖτα πυχάζει

Παντοδαποῖς. (L. 3. c. 21. p. 101. ed. Casaub.)

<sup>2</sup> L. 15. c. 5 & 10. <sup>3</sup> L. 3. c. 1. ed. Xylan. vol. 2. p. 645 & 647.



described in the *Alcestis* <sup>4</sup> of our Poet, “as crowning his head at a feast with branches of Myrtle, and drinking from a cup encircled with ivy:” Ovid has likewise painted the picture of this dying Hero, reclining on his club with as much philosophical tranquillity, as if he were reposing at a feast adorned with garlands,

Haud alio vultu, quam si conviva jaceres  
Inter plena meri redimitus pocula fertis.

(Met. L. 9. v. 238.)

When the Libertine Polemon walked into the school of Xenocrates, he was crowned with chaplets, as Diogenes <sup>5</sup> Laertius, Lucian <sup>6</sup>, and Valerius <sup>7</sup> Maximus describe him: And the first symptom too of his reformation from the Philosopher’s lesson on temperance was to cast his garland <sup>8</sup> from his brow. That the Romans adopted this custom, is evident from an anecdote of a very elegant and interesting nature, recorded in Pliny <sup>9</sup>. “When Anthony was preparing for the

<sup>4</sup> V. 759 & 756.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐρεφάνωμενος μεθύων. (L. 4. Polemon.)

<sup>6</sup> Τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῖς στεφάνοις διηριθισμένος.

Bis Accus. vol. 2. ed. Hemskren. p. 810.

<sup>7</sup> Sertis capite redimito. (L. 6. c. 9. Exter. f. 1.)

<sup>8</sup> Potus ut ille

Dicitur ex collo furtim carpisse coronas,  
Postquam est impransu correptus voce magistri.

(Hor. Sat. 3. l. 2. v. 257.)

<sup>9</sup> Τὸς στεφάνους περιίσπασι. (Lucian. Id.)

Primum coronam capite detractam projecit. (Val. Max. Id.)

<sup>9</sup> Namque in apparatu belli Aetiaci gratificationem ipsius reginæ Antonio timente nec nisi prægustatos cibos fumente, fertur pavore ejus luisse, extremis coronæ floribus veneno illitis, ipsâque capiti imposita, mox procedente hilaritate invitavit Antonium, ut coronas biberent. Quis ita timeret insidias? Ergo conceptrâ in scyphum incipienti haurire opposita manu: En ego sum, inquit illa, Marce Antoni, quam tu novâ prægustantium diligentia caves: adeo mihi, si possim sine te vivere, occasio aut ratio deest: Inde eductum custodia bibere jussit, illico expirantem. (Nat. Hist. l. 21. c. 3. f. 9.)

battle

battle of Actium, and was so apprehensive of the friendship even of the Queen as to decline any food, unless previously tasted, Cleopatra is reported to have dallied with his apprehension by poisoning the ends of the flowers of her garland; then placing it on her head she invited her Lover during the entertainment to taste it. Who in this situation could fear treachery? Having seized therefore his hand, as he was beginning to apply the cup, "Behold, Mark Anthony, cried she, I am the Woman, whom you guard against with this new precaution of having your food previously tasted: If I could live without you, opportunity and means would I suppose be wanting:" She then ordered a slave produced to taste it, who instantly expired." The history of Woman perhaps scarcely furnishes a more remarkable instance of the refined subtlety of the female mind. According to Monsieur Guys, in his *Voyage de La Grece Literaire*, the Modern Greeks to this day observe the same custom of wearing chaplets of flowers during their entertainments: "*Je trouve donc dans les repas Grecs non seulement les anciens excès & l'antique simplicité, mais encore les couronnes de fleurs qui peignent si bien la joie des convives.*"

(Tom. I. Lett. 10. p. 126.)

## N° XLIX.

Verse

Πρόξυς εἰς μέσον πῆδον

1172. Ἐξη γέλων δ' ἔθηκε.

An old Man stood

Officious in his ministry, which rais'd

1210. Much mirth among the Guests.

THE cause of this mirth among the Guests arises from the Græcian custom of being served at table by Boys, who were distinguished for beauty, and not by objects of advanced age, and of uncomely appearance: Thus, when Vulcan officiates as Ganymede, at the banquet of the Gods in the first Iliad, he excites the same sensation, and for the same reason, as here produced,

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies,

And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies. POPE.

For Cicero<sup>1</sup> asserts, "that the poets prepared for the Gods nectar, ambrosia, and entertainments, and Youth, or Ganymede, administering to them the cup."

Some related, says Athenæus<sup>2</sup>, that Harmonia performed this office for the Gods: But others, he adds, asserted, that Hebe was honoured with the employment of pouring the wine for them, According to this idea, the servants of Penelope's Suitors in the Odyssey are described by Eumæus,

A blooming train in rich embroid'ry drest;

With earth's whole tribute the bright table bends,

And smiling round celestial youth attends.

(Pope. Odyss. B. 15. v. 353.)

<sup>1</sup> At Poetæ quidem nectar, ambrosiam, epulas comparant, & aut Juventutem, aut Ganymedem pocula ministrantem. De Nat. Deor. l. 1, c. 40.

<sup>2</sup> L. 10. c. 7. p. 425.

Brodæus<sup>3</sup> on this passage of Euripides, observing the same custom, cites Athenæus, as asserting in his tenth book, that among the Ancients the noblest Boys distributed the wine, *ὠνοχόων παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέσασιν παῖδες*: This citation has been transcribed both by Barnes and Musgrave into their Editions: But I believe that Brodæus quoted by memory, and the others implicitly followed him without examination: For I can find no such passage in that book of Athenæus; but he there says, that among the Romans the noblest of the youth performed this service in their publick sacrifices, *παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οἱ εὐγενέσασιν τῶν παίδων τὴν λειτουργίαν ταυτὴν ἐκῆλθον ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι τῶν θυσίων*<sup>4</sup>: This I conceive to be the passage to which Brodæus alludes. The English Reader will find this subject farther illustrated by Archbishop Potter in his Archæologia. (B. 4. c. 20. p. 389.)

N<sup>o</sup> L.

Verse                    Ἐκ τε γὰρ κρησσῶν ὕδωρ  
1174.                    Χερσὶν ἔπεμπε νίπῃρα.

From the urns

1211.                    He fill'd the lavers.

THE Græcians, during their entertainments, were accustomed to bathe their hands: Thus Homer, in many places, alludes to this practice,

The golden ew'r a maid obsequious brings,  
Replenish'd from the cool translucent springs;

<sup>3</sup> In Ion, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> L. 10. c. 6. p. 425.

With copious water the bright vase supplies  
A silver ladle of capacious size ;  
They wash.

(Pope. Odyss. B. I. v. 183, &c.)

“ A blooming youth presents the Guests with water for their hands,” says Philoxenus, a Dithyrambick Poet, in the poem of his Δείπνος, or Supper, preserved in Athenæus <sup>1</sup>. According to Monsieur Guys, “ Les Grecs modernes, comme les anciens, sont dans l’usage de se laver les mains avant & après les repas.” (Tom. I. lett. 25. p. 432.)

#### N° LI.

Verse 1175. Σμύρνης ἰδρωῖτα.

Fragrant myrrh

1212. Incens’d the place.

ATHENÆUS <sup>2</sup> observes, “ that chaplets, perfumes, and incense were a very expensive article at the second table, or course of the Greeks :” And in another place he asserts, “ that most of the ointments were derived from the stacte of σμύρνα or myrrh.” The modern Turks, according to Tavernier <sup>3</sup>, “ when any person comes to visit them, present a perfuming pot of the fumigation of the lignum aloes :” And Mons. Guys remarks, “ Aujourd’hui les Grecs & les Turcs brûlent de l’aloes, qui est le parfum le plus cher, & le plus agréable.” (Tom. I. l. 25. p. 435.)

<sup>1</sup> L. 15. c. 10. p. 685.    <sup>2</sup> L. 15. c. 11. p. 688. l. 14. c. 11. p. 637. l. 3. c. 21. p. 101. & l. 9. c. 15. p. 403. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 12. c. 15. Potter Archæol. b. 4. c. 20. p. 385.    <sup>3</sup> Account of the Seraglio, p. 385.

## N° LII.

Verse Χρυσέων τ' ἐκπωμάτων

1176. Ἥρχ' αὐτὸς.

The golden bowls

1213, He claim'd his charge.

I understand by this expression, that this impertinent old Man thus assumed the office of Συμποσιαρχός, or the presiding Manager over the cups, which were of gold, like those in Homer, "Wines that laugh in gold," as Pope has boldly translated it. (Odyss. B. 18. v. 146.)

## N° LIII.

Verse 1177. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐς αὐλὰς.

1213. When now the jocund pipes 'gan breathe.

THE Gods, says Homer <sup>1</sup>, bestowed Musick, a companion to the feast; And in another place he calls it,

Musick the banquet's most refin'd delight.

Pope. Odyss. B. 21. v. 474.

Thus Demodocus <sup>2</sup> at the Court of Alcinous plays to the Guests during their entertainment, and Phemius <sup>3</sup> at the

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. l. 17. v. 271.

<sup>2</sup> Odyss. l. 8. v. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Il. l. 17. v. 312.

banquet of the Suitors of Penelope; where Ulysses, disguised as a Beggar, exclaims,

I hear, what graces ev'ry feast, the lyre. (Il. b. 17. v. 323.)

In the same manner at the Court of Dido,

Citharâ crinitus Jopas  
Personat auratâ. (Æn. 1. v. 745.)

#### N° LIV.

Verse 1179. Μεγάλα δ' εἰσφέρειν.

Bring

1217. Capacious Bowls.

THE exchange of the smaller for the larger cup at this Græcian entertainment is illustrated by Cicero<sup>1</sup>, who says of the Greeks,

Poscunt majoribus poculis :

And Virgil has transferred it to the Court of Dido,

Postquam prima quies epulis mensæque remotæ,  
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.

(Æn. 1. 1. v. 728.)

Thus the Author of a Greek Epigram invites his friend to drink unmixed wine from a larger cup,

Λετταίμενοι, Προδίκη, πυκασώμεθα, ἢ τὸν ἄκρατον

Ἐλκωμεν, κύλικας μείζονας ἀράμενοι.

(Anthol. l. 7. ep. 143.)

<sup>1</sup> Orat. 1. c. 26. in Verrem.

Anacharſis the Scythian expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at this Græcian uſage, as Diogenes <sup>2</sup> Laertius relates: But Athenæus <sup>3</sup> informs us, “that this cuſtom was not original among the Græcians, but lately introduced by the Barbarians: For he could diſcover in no ancient record or representation, relating to that country, that there was any very large cup employed, except for Heroes; and to them alone was aſſigned one, which was called *ῥυτόν*.” The Græcians however had the reputation of indulging their exceſs in this reſpect ſo far that it even became proverbial, as appears from Plautus <sup>4</sup>, Cicero <sup>5</sup>, and Horace <sup>6</sup>. If we may believe Monſieur Guys, the modern Greeks are ſtill as remarkable in this reſpect: “Les Grecs boivent encore avec autant de plaifir que d’excès, & leurs feſtins ne finiffent pas ſans ivreſſe.”

(Voyage de la Grece, tom. 1. c. 10. p. 122.)

<sup>2</sup> Θαυμάζειν φησί πῶς Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνοισι, πληθύνοντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις. (L. 1. Anarch.) This paſſage is cited in the Note of Barnes.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐδὲ γὰρ παλαιὸν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ νεωστὶ εὗρεθῃ τιμωθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις οὗτ’ ἐν γραφαῖς οὗτ’ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον εὐχέσσομεν ποτήριον εὐμέγεθες εἰργασμένον, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς, τὸ γὰρ ῥυτόν ἀνομαζόμενον μόνους τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἀπετίδωσαν.

(L. 1. c. 2. p. 461.)

<sup>4</sup> Dies noctesque bibite, pergræcamini. (Moll. A. 1. f. 1.)

Here, ſays Lambinus in his Comment, Græco more, hoc eſt, majoribus poculis potare. (ed. 1576. p. 523.)

Quodque in luſtris comedim & congræcem, pater.

(Bacchid. A. 4. f. 4.)

The word pergræcetur occurs alſo again in the ſame play (A. 5.) and in the Truculentus (A. 1. f. 1.)

<sup>5</sup> Invitatio, ut Græco more biberetur. (In Verrem. l. 1. c. 26.)

<sup>6</sup> Aſſuetum græcari. (L. 2. ſat. 2. v. 12.)



## N° LV.

Verse 1182. Λαβὼν ἑξαιρέτων.

One he took

1220. Of choicer frame,

THIS old Man presents a bowl of distinguished excellence to Ion, as a mark of superior respect: Thus, when Achilles receives the Ambassadors of the Greeks, he instantly calls to his friend Patroclus to bring a larger bowl,

Μείζονα δὲ κρητῆρα Μενoitis υἱὲ καθίσα.

(Il. 9. v. 212.)

And thus Dido honours Æneas with the massy goblet of Belus: As the Symposiarch here fills the full vase<sup>1</sup>, so the Queen of Carthage,

Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus & omnes  
A Belo soliti.

(Æn. l. 1. v. 734.)

Now Dido crowns the bowl of state with wine,  
The bowl of Belus and the regal line.

(Pitt. B. 1. v. 978.)

<sup>1</sup> V. 1184.

## N° LVI.

## N° LVI.

Verse 1189. Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγγατο.

1228. Words of reproach one utter'd.

THE design of the poison is here frustrated by the ill-omened expression of a Servant at this feast: The Greeks were remarkably superstitious in their use of words, not only on religious occasions, as the *ζόμα εὐφημον*<sup>1</sup>, recommended by Ion to the Ministers of the Delphick Temple, but also on all others. When Agamemnon proposes to send Ambassadors to Achilles, the aged Nestor desires them, that prior to the act of libation, they would guard their tongue<sup>2</sup>: And Ulysses in the *Odyssæ*, soliciting a favourable omen from Jupiter, thus prays,

Of human race now rising from repose,  
Let one a blissful omen here disclose.

(Pope. B. 20. v. 123.)

The English Commentator in his Note<sup>3</sup> here remarks, “that the Reader will fully understand the import of this prayer from the nature of omens, and the notion of them amongst the Ancients: if, says Ulysses, my prayer is heard, let there be a voice from within the palace to certify me of it; and immediately a voice is heard, O Jupiter, may this day be the last to the Suitors! Such speeches, as fell accidentally from any person, were held ominous, and

<sup>1</sup> V. 98.      <sup>2</sup> *Εὐφημῆσαι.* (Il. 9. v. 171.)

<sup>3</sup> See also the Note on the first *Odyssæ*. (V. 367.)

“ one of the ancient ways of divination: Ulysses understands  
 “ it as such, and accepts the omen. It was in use among  
 “ the Romans, as appears from Tully on divination<sup>4</sup>: When  
 “ P. Æmilius was going to war with Perseus, King of the  
 “ Macedonians, he found his little daughter in tears: O  
 “ Father, says she, Perseus is dead! meaning her little dog,  
 “ named Perseus; Æmilius immediately replied, O Daughter,  
 “ I embrace the omen, applying it to Perseus, King of the  
 “ Macedonians; who was afterwards conquered by him, and  
 “ died a Captive in Rome. The same practice was used by  
 “ the Hebrews; it was called Bath Kol; this is an instance  
 “ of it: Two Rabbis desiring to see Samuel a Babylonish  
 “ Doctor, let us follow, said they, the hearing of Bath Kol:  
 “ Travelling therefore near a school, they heard a boy read-  
 “ ing these words out of Samuel<sup>5</sup>, “ And Samuel died.”  
 “ They observed it, and found that their Friend was dead.  
 “ The Sortes Virgilianæ afterwards were much of this kind.”  
 We may add to the above entertaining anecdote the ridicu-  
 lous jest of the young Iulus in the seventh<sup>6</sup> Æneid, which  
 solved the prophecy of the Harpies in the third<sup>7</sup>, and con-  
 firmed the arrival of the Trojans in the promised land of  
 Italy: This trifling witticism of the Roman Poet was built on  
 the sober record of History; for Dionysius Halicarnassæus in  
 his first book<sup>8</sup> of the Roman Antiquities relates, “ that

<sup>4</sup> Atque his superstitionibus non dubitasti etiam omina adjungere:  
 Æmilia Paulo, Persam perisse; quod pater omen accepit. (L. 2. c. 40.)

<sup>5</sup> B. I. c. 25. v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus;

Nec plura alludens, ea vox audita laborum

Prima tulit finem. (V. 118.)

<sup>7</sup> V. 257.

<sup>8</sup> Ἄλλ' ἡμῶν γε ἤδη καὶ ἡ τρέπεζα κατεδήδοται· ὡς δὲ τῆτο ἤκουσαν, ἅπαντες  
 ἀποθρόνισαν, ὡς τὰ πρῶτα τῷ μαλινύμαλῳ ἤδη σφίσι τέλος ἔχον.

Antiquit. Roman. l. 1. c. 55. ed. Reiske, vol. 1. p. 140.

when one of the Company of Æneas happened to exclaim, "Behold, we have eaten even the table!" as soon as they all heard it, they cried out with joy; "that the first part of the oracle was now fulfilled." This conformity of Virgil with ancient tradition in this fabulous prophecy is elegantly illustrated by Addison in one of his Spectators<sup>9</sup>. If the foundation of the Roman Empire had such an omen as this in the opinion of Antiquity for its basis, we shall not wonder, that the catastrophe of this drama is here made to depend on an accidental speech, uttered at a banquet. When Ancient Authors are tried by Modern Criticks, they have an undoubted privilege of pleading the prevailing sentiments of their own times, and the code of the reigning Religion. But Milton appears to have imitated this superstition, when he makes Manoah say to Sampson,

"These words

"I as a prophecy receive."

(Samf. Agonif. 473.)

### N° LVII.

Verse 1192. Σπονδαὶς Θεῷ.

1234. A libation to the God.

HENCE it appears, that the Græcians, after their entertainments, were accustomed to make libations to their Gods. Thus Athenæus<sup>1</sup> observes, "that Homer describes the Græcians, after regaling themselves, performing this ceremony,

<sup>9</sup> N° 351. <sup>1</sup> L. 4. c. 27. p. 179. The latter part of this passage is cited by Brodæus, and inserted in the edition of Baræus.

The

The youth with wine the sacred goblets crown'd,  
And large libations drench'd the sands around."

(Pope, Il. b. 9. v. 230.)

He adds, " that Plato in his symposium has preserved this custom; for after the repast he asserts, that they made libations, and celebrated the God with his customary honours: In the same manner, continues he, Xenophon: But with Epicurus there was no libation nor offering of the first fruit to the Divinities." This observation shews the deep sense and sacred regard, entertained in those Countries of the enlightened Ancients, of the obligation of Religion and Gratitude.

#### N° LVIII.

Verse 1197. Κῶμος πελειῶν.

1236. A troop of doves.

DIODORUS<sup>1</sup> SICULUS observes, " that doves were fed and kept in the temple of Delphi; and he mentions a prodigy arising from this circumstance." Brodæus in his annotations on the Ion<sup>2</sup> refers us to this passage.

<sup>1</sup> L. 16. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> P. 115.

#### N° LIX.

## N° LIX.

Verse 1222. Περὶ ῥομφαίᾳ.

From the rock

1265. Cast headlong.

ACCORDING to this expression the judgment, decreed by the unanimous voice of the Tribunal at Delphi against Creusa, is Precipitation: Ion afterwards alludes to this mode of punishment, where he mentions the *πετραῖον ἄλμα* <sup>1</sup>,

As down the craggy precipice she bounds.

(V. 1314.)

But the Messenger, in the beginning of the scene, uses the term of *πετραμένη* <sup>2</sup>, which implies Lapidation, as defined by the Scholiast <sup>3</sup> on our Author's Orestes, *λίθοις βαλλόμενος*: Thus the Chorus, by the expression of *λείσιμος* twice <sup>4</sup> repeated, understands the judgment, as I shall shew in my subsequent Note. Perhaps both these different modes of ancient punishment were consistent with each other; for it might be customary to throw stones over the body of the Criminal after his precipitation from the rock: If not, we must acknowledge, that our Poet is unguarded and inaccurate in his expression, since the variation cannot be attributed, as Barnes <sup>5</sup> imagines, to the meer apprehensions of the Chorus; because I have proved, that the Messenger himself is guilty of the same difference in the phrase. There are his-

<sup>1</sup> V. 1268.<sup>2</sup> V. 1112.<sup>3</sup> V. 944.<sup>4</sup> V. 1236 & 1240.<sup>5</sup> See his Note on V. 1236.

torical testimonies, which confirm the ancient usage of both these modes of penal execution : I shall illustrate that of Precipitation in the present Note, and leave that of Lapidation for the next. Amphitryon in the Hercules<sup>6</sup> Furens of our Poet alludes to the former, when he declares himself ready to be hurled from the rock : And in the Troades<sup>7</sup> Astyanax is ordered to be precipitated from the Trojan towers : Thus Plutarch<sup>8</sup> informs us, “ that the Priests of Delphi, accusing Æsop of sacrilege, killed him by pushing him from a rock called Hyampeia ; and he adds, that the punishment of sacrilegious Persons was changed from the rock of that name to one called Nauplia.” The same Author also records<sup>9</sup> another corresponding instance, which happened at Delphi ; “ Orgilus having refused from a superstitious omen to espouse the daughter of Crates, he revenged the affront by conveying to him and his brother, when sacrificing, a little golden vessel belonging to the sanctuary ; and then accusing them he caused them unheard to be precipitated from a rock.” This mode of execution seems to have been practised in the Oriental Countries ; since we read in St. Luke, “ that all they in the Synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and led Jesus unto the brow of the hill, whereon their City was built, that they might cast him down headlong.” (C. iv. v. 29.)

<sup>6</sup> \* *Ἰσσαι πέτρῃς ἄπο.* V. 320.

<sup>7</sup> V. 720.

<sup>8</sup> De his qui serò a Numine puniuntur. ed. Xylan. vol. 2. p. 557.

<sup>9</sup> Reipub. Geien. Præcep. ed. Xylan. vol. 2. p. 825.

## N° LX.

Verse 1236. Λεύσι μοι δε καὶ αἰφθοραὶ.

1280. Cast headlong from the rock must die.

THE Chorus here alludes in the original, and again in (V. 1240.) to the punishment of Lapidation, and not Precipitation: But the English Translator has taken the liberty to depart from the precise letter of the Greek: The former, as well as the latter, is recorded as an ancient mode of penal execution. When Hector upbraids Paris in the Iliad with the miseries of his country, he is understood by some Commentators, as referring to this death under the expression of,

Λαίον ἔσσο χίτωνι. (Il. iii. v. 57.)

This literally implies, that he would have been clad in a coat of Stones <sup>1</sup>, or stoned to death: The Chorus in the Agamemnon <sup>2</sup> of Æschylus declares to Ægysthus, “that the avenging People will inflict on him the curse of Lapidation:” And Eteocles in the Seven against Thebes <sup>3</sup> menaces his subjects in case of disobedience with a similar execution: Thus in the Antigone of Sophocles <sup>4</sup>, Creon denounces this punishment against any one, who should dare to bury the body of Polynices: Thus Electra in the Orestes <sup>5</sup> of our Poet

<sup>1</sup> Others interpret the passage, as signifying a stone coffin, or a grave under a monument of stones. <sup>2</sup> V. 1625. <sup>3</sup> V. 205.

<sup>4</sup> (V. 36.) See the Note of Burton in his Περὶ ἀπολογίας, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> V. 50. 442. 535. 563. 613. 624. 861. 912. 944.



declares, that she may be sentenced to die by this mode of Lapidation, and both she and her brother narrowly escape this sentence : Also in the Heraclidæ Copreus informs Iolaus, that he must return to Argos, “ that the *λεῖσιμος* <sup>6</sup> *δίκη*, or death by lapidation, may be inflicted on him :” But this was the actual fate of the Royal Hecuba in Thrace, if we may believe Lycophron <sup>7</sup> : And Demosthenes <sup>8</sup> in his Oration against Ctesiphon mentions, “ that the Athenians not only destroyed Cysyllus with stones ; but that also their Wives executed the same vengeance on his Wife.” This historical fact is likewise related by Cicero <sup>9</sup> with the omission of the last circumstance in regard to the Wife ; and he observes, “ that the cause of it was, because he advised the Athenians to remain in their City, contrary to their resolution of abandoning it, and persuaded them to receive Xerxes within the walls.” We also learn from Plutarch <sup>10</sup> in the life of Solon, “ that some Criminals, allured by Megacles from the altar, were stoned to death.” The History of the Old <sup>11</sup> and New <sup>12</sup> Testament abundantly demonstrates, that this was a very ancient Oriental punishment.

<sup>6</sup> V. 60.      <sup>7</sup> Alex. V. 331.      <sup>8</sup> Ed. Taylor, vol. 1. p. 549.

<sup>9</sup> De Off. 1. 3. c. 11.      <sup>10</sup> Ed. Bryan. vol. 1. p. 184.

<sup>11</sup> Exod. c. 17. v. 4. Sam. b. 1. c. 30. v. 6.

<sup>12</sup> St. Matthew, c. 23. v. 37. St. John. c. 8. v. 7. & 59. c. 10. v. 31, 32, 33. c. 24. v. 14. The Acts, c. 7. v. 59.

## N° LXI.

Verse 1256. Ἰκέτιν ἃ θέμις φογεύειν.

1300. To kill a suppliant there the Law forbids.

HENCE we may collect the privilege of the Ancient Asylum: Creusa afterwards, sheltering herself under this law, declares to Ion,

My person hallow'd to the God I bear. (V. 1333.)

Thus in the Eumenides of Æschylus Orestes is at first represented under the protection of Apollo at the altar of Delphi; and again in the same play at the shrine of Minerva at Athens: And thus in the Heraclidæ of our Poet, where Iolaus<sup>1</sup> and the Children of Hercules take refuge at the altar, when Copreus attempts to force them from it, the Chorus<sup>2</sup> declares, that it is a duty to reverence the Suppliants of the Gods: Pausanias<sup>3</sup> informs us, that the Oracle of Dodona commanded the Athenians to spare the Lacedæmonians, who fled to the Areopagus: And by the express Law of Athens<sup>4</sup> "Suppliants were safe:" Statius has given a beautiful description of the altar of Mercy in that City. (Theb. l. 12.v. 48.)

<sup>1</sup> V. 61. & 124.

<sup>2</sup> V. 101.

<sup>3</sup> L. 1. c. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Pet. Leg. Att. Tit. 1. c. 9. See also Strabo, l. 14. p. 950. Potter, Archæol. b. 2. c. 2. p. 109.

## N° LXII.

Verse 1261. Ὡ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κεφίσου.

1307. Bull-vifag'd Sire Cephifus.

ACCORDING to Apollodorus<sup>1</sup>, Erechtheus, Father of Creufa, married Praxithea, whose Mother Diogenia was Daughter of Cephifus; and consequently this River God of Attica is here invoked with propriety by Ion, as Ancestor of the Queen of Athens: He is here addreffed, “as having the form of a Bull:” This idea is a favourite allufion with the Greek and Roman Poets: Euripides in his Oreftes calls the Ocean Ταυρίκερος<sup>2</sup>, “as having the head of a Bull,” and the epithet of Ταύρεος<sup>3</sup> is applied by Hefiod to Neptune: Thus in the Iphigenia in Aulis the River Alpheus is represented under the σῆμα<sup>4</sup> ταυρόπεν, or the figure of a Bull; and Virgil gilds the horns of Eridanus:

Gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu.

(Georg. 4. v. 371.)

He alfo addreffes the Tiber, as

Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.

(Æn. 8. v. 77.)

The tauriformis Aufidus of Horace<sup>5</sup> is a literal tranflation of the compound epithet here used of ταυρόμορφον. When

<sup>1</sup> Biblioth. 1. 3. p. 132. ed. Æg. Spol. 1555.

<sup>2</sup> V. 1374.

<sup>3</sup> Scut. Her. v. 104.

<sup>4</sup> V. 275.

<sup>5</sup> L. 4. od. 14. v. 25.

Ovid paints the engagement of the River Achelous with Hercules, he observes,

Sic quoque devicto restabat tertia tauri  
Forma trucis; tauro mutatus membra rebello.

(Met. l. 9. v. 81.)

According to this idea, Sophocles in his Trachiniæ<sup>6</sup> informs us, "that one of the three shapes of Achelous was that of a manifest Bull, *ἐναργῆς ταῦρος*, another that of a Dragon, and another that of a Man with the head of an Ox, *ἑξάκεφαλος*." The cause, assigned by Strabo<sup>7</sup> for this fabulous resemblance of Achelous and all other Rivers to the figure of a Bull, arises "from their sonorous noises, and from those windings of their streams, which they call horns." Thus, according to Eustathius, the reason, "why Ulysses in the Odyssæy<sup>8</sup> is enjoined to sacrifice a Bull to Neptune, is because that Animal represents the roaring of the sea in storms:" When Homer describes the River Scamander, he asserts, "that he roars like a Bull,"

*Μεμνῶν ἥντε ταῦρος*. (Il. 21. v. 237.)

Here his Commentator Eustathius has enumerated the other causes of this metaphorical comparison, as follows, "Because they used to sacrifice Bulls to the Sea and Rivers; because Rivers divide or tear up the earth in the same manner as Oxen do by the Plough; or because these Animals depasture near Rivers." The two last-mentioned causes are cited by the respective Scholiasts on the Trachiniæ<sup>9</sup> of Sophocles, and

<sup>6</sup> V. 11. & 13. <sup>7</sup> L. 10. p. 703. ed. Casaubon. <sup>8</sup> Odyss. l. 11. v. 130.

<sup>9</sup> V. 13.

the Orestes<sup>10</sup> of our Poet. These resemblances were not only the favourite objects of poetical description; but also were borrowed by Artists in their representation of Rivers: The Scholiast on Pindar<sup>11</sup> informs us, "that the Bull in Agrigentum, which was shewn in his time for that of Phalaris, was only a statue of the river Gelon:" And Ælian<sup>12</sup>, in his Various History, where he has a Chapter on the images of Rivers, observes, "that some Nations represent them under an human form; but others confer on them the shape of Oxen." He then enumerates four instances of this last mode of representation, prevailing among different People; and adds, "that the Athenians in their exhibition of Cephissus honour him under the image of a Man; but at the same time projecting horns, *κέραϊα δὲ ὑποφαίνοντα*." "They represent Rivers, says Phurnutus<sup>13</sup>, as bearing horns, and having the aspect of a Bull, since their course has something violent and roaring:" The learned Spanheim<sup>14</sup> in his Dissertation on Coins remarks, "that we may trace vestiges from ancient coins of this representation;" He there produces one of the River Achelous<sup>15</sup> thus exhibited, and likewise an engraving of the Rhenus bicornis, or Rhine with two horns: He also inserts another of the Neptune *Ταύρεος*, whose forehead presents the two horns. The Author of the Polymetis<sup>16</sup> has very inaccurately asserted, "that the Poets do not attribute this device to any rivers, but to Aufidus and Eridanus:" Now the above passages demonstrate that all Rivers almost

<sup>10</sup> V. 1378.<sup>11</sup> Pyth. Od. 1. v. 185.<sup>12</sup> L. 2. c. 23. ed. Gron. vol. 1. p. 157.<sup>13</sup> De Nat. Deor. c. 22.<sup>14</sup> De præll. & usu. Numism. Dissert. 5. p. 359, 360, 361.<sup>15</sup> See also a figure of this Achelous in the first vol. of the Greek Antiquities by Grævius.<sup>16</sup> Dial. 14. p. 231.

were thus addressed and personified; and Valerius Flaccus expressly applies this resemblance indiscriminately, as a general term to Rivers,

*Elatis cornibus Amnes.*

(*Argon. l. i. v. 106.*)

According to Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, "Every personage who had any connexion with the history of the Ark, was described with some reference to this hieroglyphick. As the Patriarch was esteemed the great Deity of the sea, and at the same time was represented under the semblance of a Bull, or with the head of that animal, we find this circumstance continually alluded to by the Poets and Mythologists of Græce: And as all Rivers were looked upon, as the children of the Ocean, they likewise were represented in the same manner." (Vol. 2. p. 436 & 437.)

### N° LXIII.

Verse 1288. *Πατρὸς εὐσίαν λέγω.*

1336. By another right the God's.

CREUSA having sarcastically said to Ion, that he was no longer the Son of Apollo, but of Xuthus, he replies, "Yet I have been; I mean in regard to the riches of a father;" as if he had said, Apollo was my foster parent; for I was nurtured by the produce of his temple: Thus I interpret this passage, in which Barnes could discover no perspicuous sense, and suspects that it is corrupt. Dr. Musgrave, inclining

inclining to the same opinion, has proposed an emendation, which I cannot approve, since it is a violent alteration of the words; and the sense is directly contrary<sup>1</sup> to my interpretation. The amendment of Heath<sup>2</sup>, who substitutes τὸ πάρος instead of πατρός, renders the rhythm of the line too unmusical.

## N° LXIV.

Verse 1396. Στγᾶν συ πολλὰ καὶ πάροιθεν οἶσθαι μοι.

1450. I thought thou long hadst known to keep thee silent.

THIS line, which in the Greek editions is in the mouth of the Chorus, is given by Heath to Ion; and he supposes it to allude to the concealment of the poison<sup>3</sup>: But I can discover no necessity for this alteration: It appears natural for the Chorus extremely interested for Creusa, who was now rushing from the altar on the recognition of the pledges, to advise her to be silent, which they do by reminding her of her former silence in general, and perhaps alluding to the concealment of her connexion with Apollo. The Translator understanding it, as Heath, has transferred it to the mouth of Ion.

<sup>1</sup> Non enim de eo nunc, ut de Patre adoptivo loquor. See his Note on V. 1307 of his Edition.

<sup>2</sup> Not. in Ion. p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Idem autem, cum hæc dicit, venenum respicere putandum est. Not. in Ion. p. 142.

## N° LXV.

Verse 1406. ῥυσιάζομαι λόγῳ.

1461, I take thee at thy word,

I Understand this passage, that Ion, astonished at the conduct of Creusa, now violently embracing him and the casket, asserts, "I am arrested by your words; as the pledge of the Debtor is by the Creditor:" She denies immediately the force of this remark by averring, that Ion was now discovered to be her friend, and consequently there was no attack on the person or property of a Stranger: We have already had a similar allusion in this play, when Xuthus, embracing Ion his supposed Son, exclaims,

My touch

Asserts no pledge; my own, and that most dear  
I find. (V. 529.)

I once thought that ῥυσιάζομαι was to be here interpreted in an active sense, as a middle verb, to signify, "I arrest thee as my pledge:" The English Translator has adopted this idea: but the reply of Creusa determines me in favour of the other acceptance.



N<sup>o</sup> LXVI.

Verse 1419. Ἐκδιδάγμαι κερμίδος.

1474. Effay of the loom.

HENCE it appears, that the employment of the Græcian Women of the most elevated rank consisted in works of embroidery, in which they seem eminently to have excelled : The instrument, used for that purpose, was the *κερμὶς*, or shuttle. This curious vest of the Athenian Queen appears from the following description of it to have been of a rich design ; and the subjects, interwoven in it, prove the heroick manners of the female sex in the Græcian states : The figures of the Gorgon <sup>1</sup> and Serpents <sup>2</sup> are historical emblems : Thus the Chorus of Athenian Women on their first arrival at the Delphick Temple are struck with the resemblance of Hercules and Iolaus there painted to those Heroes, whom they themselves had embroidered <sup>3</sup> :

The subject on the web  
Design'd these hands have wrought in ductile gold.

(V. 194 )

And in the Hecuba of our Poet the Chorus of Trojan Captives describes the chariot of Minerva, and the race of the Titans, destroyed by the lightning of Jupiter, as the objects of their embroidery <sup>4</sup> : The latter are also thus mentioned in the Iphigenia in Tauris <sup>5</sup> : We may likewise recollect how the

<sup>1</sup> V. 1421.

<sup>2</sup> V. 1427.

<sup>3</sup> V. 197.

<sup>4</sup> V. 471.

<sup>5</sup> V. 223.

royal

royal Helena, the greatest and most fatal beauty of all Antiquity, is discovered by Iris, as employed in the Iliad,

Her in her palace at her loom she found,  
The golden web her own sad story crown'd:  
The Trojan wars she weav'd, herself the prize,  
And the dire triumph of her fatal eyes.

(Pope, b. 3. v. 172.)

According to Monsieur Guys, "Embroidery is the present occupation of Women in Modern Græce; and he observes, that we are indebted to the Greeks for this Art, which among them was very ancient, and carried to the highest point of perfection and excellence:" He illustrates this assertion by several classical instances in his fourth letter of his *Voyage Litteraire de la Græce*. (P. 39.)

#### N° LXVII.

Verse 1428. Δώρημα ᾿Αθάναις, ἣ τέκν' ἐηρέφειν λέγει.

1483. The gift of Pallas, who thus nurtures children.

THIS intermediate line in the mouth of Ion is proposed to be given with the former and subsequent one to Creusa by Pierson<sup>1</sup>, Heath<sup>2</sup>, and Musgrave<sup>3</sup>: Because it is improbable that Ion, educated at Delphi, should have heard of the Dragons, the gift of Pallas to Erichthonius: I confess that I see not the necessity of this emendation, since Ion through the whole drama appears to have an intimate knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> Verisim. Lib. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Not. in Ion. p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> See his Note on (V. 1448.) in his edition.

all the historical circumstances regarding this illustrious family: This is evident from his conversation with Creusa on her first arrival at Delphi: And why may he not be supposed to have seen the figures of these serpents depicted, as he tells us in a former line<sup>4</sup> of the play, "that the delivery of Erichthonius by Minerva to the Daughters of Agraulos is represented in painting:" This deep acquaintance of Ion with the History and Customs of the Athenians may be perhaps considered, as I shall hereafter mention in my Final Essay, if we consider his years and education, as a dramattick defect; but as this critical objection to the propriety of manners does not solely rest on the present passage, I am inclined to reject an alteration, unsupported by manuscript authority, when the sense does not absolutely require it.

## N° LXVIII.

Verse 1480. Τὸν ἔλαιοφυῆ πάγον.

Amidst the rocks

1536. With Olive crown'd.

THE various historical testimonies, which relate to the consecrated olive in the citadel of Athens, produced by Minerva in her contention with Neptune for the supremacy over that city, are collected by Meursius in his *Cecropia*<sup>5</sup>. This tree is known to delight in a barren soil, like the rock on which this citadel was built: Thus Virgil,

Difficiles primum terræ, collesque maligni,  
Tenuis ubi argilla & dumosis calculus arvis,  
Palladiâ gaudent sylvâ vivacis olivæ.

(Georg. l. 2. v. 181.)

<sup>4</sup> V. 271. See my Annotations on the Greek Text.

<sup>5</sup> C. 19.

N<sup>o</sup> LXIX.

Verse 1550. Ἀνθ' ἡλίου πρόσωπον ἐκφαίνει θεῶν;

What God above the hallow'd dome unveils]  
1604. His radiant face, that shines another Sun?

WE may collect from the expression in this and the following lines the sublime idea, which the Græcians entertained of the awful presence of their Pagan Divinities, and of the fatal consequences arising to the spectator from the appearance of them: Here Ion alludes to that luminous splendour, dazzling with its irradiation, and to the danger of beholding this heavenly Visitant. Thus Achilles, when Minerva appears to him in order to appease his resentment against Agamemnon, is astonished at her celestial aspect, and the terrible appearance of her eyes,

Δεινὸν δὲ οἱ ὅσσε φαάνθεν. (Il. 1. v. 200.)

It is by this peculiar symbol of divine light, and by the brilliant lustre of her glittering eyes, that Helena discovers Venus, where she mentions her ὄμμαϊα<sup>1</sup> μαρμαίροντα: And thus Minerva in her descent is compared by Homer to a glancing star, whose trail of light emits many sparkles, while all the Spectators are confounded at the awful sight of the Goddess,

Θάμνος δ' ἔχεν εἰσοραΐας. (Il. 4. v. 79.)

<sup>1</sup> Il. 3. v. 397.

The Romans borrowed this idea of divine effulgence from the Græcians : Thus Virgil says of Venus,

Roseâ cervice refulsit. (*Æn.* 1. v. 406.)

And in another passage he represents the same Goddess,

Cum mihi se non ante oculis tam clara videndam  
Obtulit, & purâ per noctem in luce refulsit  
Alma parens, confessa Deam. (*V.* 591.)

He also paints Pallas in the fatal night of Troy, when revealed to Æneas, as

Nimbo effulgens. (*Æn.* 2. v. 616.)

His Juno is discovered in her disguise of Beroë by the glowing symbol of her eyes among other marks of divinity,

Divini signa decoris  
Ardentesque notate oculos. (*Æn.* 5. v. 648.)

We will now consider the fatal consequences arising from the presence of these Divinities ; and these were to be dreaded, unless upon particular occasions, as Ion<sup>2</sup> here qualifies the expression. This observation will enable us to answer a question, started by the English Commentator on the following lines of the *Odyssæy*,

The Prince o'eraw'd  
Scarce lifts his eyes, and bows as to a God.  
(*B.* 16. v. 195.)

<sup>2</sup> Εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἰσθ' ἡμῶς ὀρεῖται. (*V.* 1552.)

Here Ulysses, adorned by Minerva with divine Graces, discovers himself in the lodge of Eumæus to his Son Telemachus,

Θάμβησε δὲ μὲν φίλος υἱὸς  
Ταρβήσας δ' ἑτέρωσε βάλ' ὀμμαῖα μὴ θεὸς εἴη. (Il. 16. v. 179.)

The original expression literally implies, “ that the son is  
“ astonished at him, and casts his eyes through fear on the  
“ other side, lest he should be a God.” But the Commentator remarks, “ This fear of Telemachus, according to Dacier,  
“ proceeds from the opinion of the Ancients : When the  
“ Gods came down visibly, they thought themselves so unworthy of such a manifestation, that whenever it happened,  
“ they believed they should die, or meet with some great calamity: Thus the Israelites address Moses, Speak thou to  
“ us, and we will hear; but let not the LORD speak to us,  
“ lest we die. Thus also Gideon: Alas! O LORD, my  
“ GOD, because I have seen an Angel of the LORD face to  
“ face, and the LORD said to him, Fear not, thou shalt not  
“ die. Hence it is very evident that this notion prevailed  
“ among the Israelites: but how does it appear that the  
“ Greeks held the same opinion?” I reply, that this passage in Euripides, where Ion exclaims, “ Let<sup>s</sup> us fly, O  
“ Mother, that we may not behold the Deity,” demonstrates, that the Græcian idea of the danger of a divine presence is supported by evidence; nor is it irreconcilable with the following observations of the English Commentator, who continues to assert, “ The contrary is manifest almost to a  
“ demonstration: The Gods are introduced almost in every

ὦ Φεύγωμεν, ἢ τιμῶσα, μὴ τὰ δαιμόνια  
ὄρωμεν. (V. 1552.)

O

“ book

“ book both of the Iliad and Odyssey ; and yet there is not  
 “ the least foundation for such an assertion : nay, Telemachus  
 “ himself, in the second book, returns thanks to Minerva  
 “ for appearing to him, and prays for a second vision. It  
 “ is not to be imagined, that Telemachus would have pre-  
 “ ferred this prayer, if the presence of the Deity denoted  
 “ death, or some great calamity ; and all the heroes through-  
 “ out the Iliad esteem such intercourses as their glory, and  
 “ converse with the Gods without any apprehensions.” In  
 answer to this objection we may reply, that these Heathen  
 Deities, when they honoured mortals with their visits, gene-  
 rally divested themselves, as far as they were able, of their  
 divine radiance, and of their formidable attributes : But I  
 conceive there always was a religious awe, accompanied with  
 a reverential fear, naturally attached to the sublime idea of  
 the vision of a Superior Being : Thus Homer asserts, that  
 the Gods, when they appear manifest, are dreadful,

Χαλσποί δε θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.

\* Il. 20. v. 131.

And Callimachus, in his hymn on the bath of Pallas, ex-  
 pressly says, that “ Whoever beholds an immortal God, con-  
 “ trary to the inclination of that Deity, pays a severe pe-  
 “ nalty for the fatal view :”

“Ὅς κε τιν’ ὀθονόεων, ὅκα μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔλῃαι,

Ἀβρήση, μισθῶ τέτον ἰδεῖν μεγάλῳ. (V. 102.)

<sup>4</sup> See also Anthol. l. 4. c. 19. ep. 33.

<sup>5</sup> See the note of Spanheim on this line, to which Dr. Musgrave refers  
 us : The learned Commentator there cites this passage of Euripides, and  
 illustrates the subject with his usual erudition.

That

That this was the Oriental notion appears from a variety of other passages, besides those already cited by Dacier: "The LORD <sup>6</sup> said unto Moses, thou canst not see my face, "for there shall no man see me and live. We shall surely "die, says Manoah <sup>7</sup> unto his wife, because we have seen "God: A man of God came unto me, and his countenance "was like the Angel of God, very terrible <sup>8</sup>. Thus Daniel <sup>9</sup> "fell upon his face, when he saw the vision: And Saul <sup>10</sup> "also fell to the earth, when suddenly there shined round "about him a light from heaven." According to this noble conception of divine effulgence, when the Raphael of Milton descends to Paradise, Adam exclaims to Eve,

What glorious shape  
Comes this way moving; seems another morn  
Ris'n on midnoon. (B. 5. v. 311.)

This bears a great resemblance to the ἀνθ' ἡλίου πρόσωπον, or the countenance luminous, as the Sun, in Euripides: But our English Poet has softened the horror of Michael's appearance to Adam after his fall, for he paints the majesty of this heavenly Visitant,

Yet not terrible,  
But solemn and sublime. (Par. Lost. b. 11. v. 236.)

<sup>6</sup> Exod. c. 33. v. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Judges, c. 13. v. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Id. v. 6.

<sup>9</sup> E. 8. v. 17. & c. 10. v. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Acts, c. 9. v. 4.



## N° LXX.

Verse 'Κεῖς θρόνος τυραννικῆς

1573. Ἰδρυσον.

Let him mount

1626. The royal throne.

HERE Minerva expressly commands Creusa to carry Ion to Attica, and to place him on the royal throne; and she repeats this injunction in her last speech<sup>1</sup> of this play. The only authorities recorded, which literally correspond with the mandate of this Goddess, are as follows: Conon, as preserved in Photius<sup>2</sup>, asserts, "that, after the death of his maternal Grandfather, Ion, elected on account of his virtue and dignity, reigned over the Athenians, who began to be called Ionians, as well as the whole region Ionia from him." Thus the Scholiast of Æschylus<sup>3</sup> observes, "that the Athenians were denominated Ionians from a certain Ion, who reigned over them:" And the Scholiast of our Poet on the Phœnissæ<sup>4</sup> mentions "Ionia, a city of Eubœa, as founded by Ion, son of Xuthus, who reigned twenty seven years:" But according to the received succession of the Kings of Attica from the

<sup>1</sup> V. 1628.

<sup>2</sup> Ἴων δὲ θανάτος τῆ μητροπάτορος διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν αἰρεθεὶς βασιλεύει Ἀθηναίων, ἐξ ὧν Ἴωνες οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγεανίον καλεῖσθαι, καὶ το ἄλλο πᾶν Ἰωνικὸν Bibbott. p. 438. ed. Hoeft.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι Ἰάονες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγονται ἐκ τινὸς Ἰάονος βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν. Persæ, v. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰωνίαν πόλιν Εὐβοίας, ἣν ἔκτισεν Ἴων ὁ Εὐβοῦ βασιλεύσας ἔτη κζ. (On v. 210.)

most authentick records, as I have already shewn in a preceding Note<sup>5</sup>, Cecrops the Second succeeded to the throne of Erechtheus; nor is Ion in the list of their Kings; but he appears to have been invested with considerable power and authority: According to Herodotus<sup>6</sup> “the Athenians were called Ionians from Ion, son of Xuthus, the Leader of their armies:” And the Scholiast<sup>7</sup> on the Birds of Aristophanes asserts, “that the Athenians honour Apollo under the title of the Paternal Deity, because Ion Polemarch, or Military Commander of the Athenians, was the Son of Apollo and Creusa, Wife of Xuthus.” According to Strabo<sup>8</sup>, “Ion, having conquered the army of Eumolpus, acquired so great a reputation, that the Athenians committed to him the management of the state:” And thus Vitruvius<sup>9</sup> asserts, “that the Athenians assigned to Ion, son of Xuthus and Creusa, the chief administration of government: But Pausanias<sup>10</sup> relates, “that under the reign of Ion at Ægialus, when the Eleusinians

<sup>5</sup> On v. 192. p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> “Ἴωνος δὲ τῷ Πάτρῳ στρατάρχῳ γινομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες. (L. 8. c. 44.)

<sup>7</sup> Πάτρῳ δὲ τιμῶσι Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ Ἴων, ὁ Πολίμαρχος Ἀθηναίων, ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρείσσης τῆς Πάτρῃς γένετο. (On V. 1526.) See also the Scholiast on the Clouds, (v. 1470.) where the same reason is assigned for this title of Πάτρῳς, or Paternal, applied to Apollo at Athens: and Plato asserts, that it was on account of the birth of Ion, Ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατὴρ διὰ τὴν τῷ Ἴωνος γένεσιν. (In Euthyd. vol. 1. ed. Serr. p. 302.)

<sup>8</sup> Ἴων δὲ τὰς μετ’ Εὐμόλπου νικήσας Θερσῆκος οὕτως ἡνδοκίμησεν ὥς ἐπέτριψαν αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀθηναῖοι. (L. 8. ed. Janfon, p. 588.)

<sup>9</sup> Athenienses summam Imperii partem Ioni Xuthi & Creusæ filio dederunt. (L. 4. c. 1.)

<sup>10</sup> Τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴωνος βασιλείας πολεμοσάντων Ἀθηναίοις Ἐλευσινίων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνα ἐπαγομένων ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τοῖς χρεῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ Ἴωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μῆμα Πολαμίων ἐστίν. (L. 7. c. 1. p. 522. ed. Kuhn.)

waged war with the Athenians, and the Athenians having appointed Ion their General for the conduct of the war, he discharged the debt of nature in Attica; and he adds, that his monument was exstant in the tribe of Potamios." He afterwards <sup>11</sup> observes, that when the Ionians, conquered by the Achæans, came into Attica, the Athenians and their Sovereign Melampus; son of Andropompus, received them into their own state for the sake of Ion, and those exploits which, as military Commander, he had executed for the Athenians. Hence we may fairly conclude, in the words of the learned Meursius <sup>12</sup>, that Ion never obtained the sovereignty, but acquired so much authority in the state, as to seem to reign;" Euripides therefore has here taken the liberty with Minerva, Goddess of Wisdom, to make her utter this dramarick prophecy with a poetical licentiousness, surpassing the actual line of history; and he elevates Ion to the throne of Attica, as he here represents in the play Xuthus and Creusa actually reigning at Athens.

<sup>11</sup> "Ιωνας δὲ ἀφικρούμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μέλανθος Ἀνδρόπομπου συνοίκευς ἐδέξαντο, Ἰωνος τε δὴ ἔνικα καὶ ἔργων αὐτοῦ πραξέε πολιμαρχῶν Ἀθηναίους. (L. 7. c. 1. p. 523. ed. Kuhn.)

<sup>12</sup> Verum regnum minimè tenuit; sed auctoritatem tantam in republicâ esse adeptus, ut regnare videretur. (De Reg. Athen. l. 2. c. 10.)

N<sup>o</sup> LXXI.

Verse 1576. Παῖδες γένόμενοι τέσσαρες.

1630. Four sons shall spring.

HERE Minerva, after foretelling the renown of Ion, proceeds to enumerate his four sons, from whom the four tribes of Athens are to be respectively denominated. Herodotus <sup>1</sup> and Stephanus <sup>2</sup> Byzantinus correspond with our Poet in regard to the particular names of these four tribes, as derived from the sons of Ion : But Plutarch <sup>3</sup> informs us, “ that some Historians had recorded, that the tribes were not denominated from the sons of Ion, but from the original employments of mankind : The first, according to him, were called Hoplites, from their attachment to arms : The Ergades from their labours : The Teleontes, as Cultivators of the Ground, and the Ægicores as living among their flocks and herds. According to Strabo <sup>4</sup>, Ion first divided the multitude into four tribes, then into four occupations : For he constituted the Farmers, the Artists, the Priests, and the

<sup>1</sup> Μετὰ δὲ τετραφύλης ἔθνους Ἀθηναίης δεκαφύλης ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων Τελεονίας καὶ Αἰγικόρειος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλήτος ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. (l. 5. c. 66.)

<sup>2</sup> Φυλὴ παλαιὰ. μία τῶν τεσσάρων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος. Τέσσαρες δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν, Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἐργαδίς, Τελεόντες, Ὀπλίται· ἡ φυλὴ τοίνυν Αἰγικορεῖς· (vox Αἰγικόρεως.)

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ τὰς φυλάς εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνος υἱῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν γένων εἰς αὐτὰς διηρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον ὠνομάσθαι, τὸ μὲν μάχιμον, ὀπλίτας, τὸ δ' ἐργατικόν, ἐργαδίς· οὐκ οὖν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τελεονίας μὲν, τὰς γεωργίας, αἰγικορεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐπινομαίης καὶ προβατείης διατρέβοντας. (Solon. ed. Bryan, vol. 1. p. 199.)

<sup>4</sup> Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας φυλάς διέτλε τὸ πλῆθος, εἴτα εἰς τέσσαρας βίους· τὰς μὲν γὰρ γεωργίας ἀπέδιδε. τὰς δὲ ποιμαίνοντάς, τὰς δὲ ἱεροποιούς, τελεόλους δὲ τὰς φύλακας. (L. 8. p. 588. ed. Janſon.)

Guardians of the State. These names continued till the reign of Alcmaëon, the last King of Athens, according to Julius Pollux<sup>5</sup>, which was in the third year of the third Olympiad: But they remained, according to Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, till after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, and till the time of Clisthenes, “who then changed them from the appellation of the four sons of Ion to the names of other native heroes.” This must be subsequent to the fourth year of the sixty sixth Olympiad, which was the æra when the Pisistratidæ were ejected; and Meursius observes, that it makes a difference of two hundred and forty nine years from the account of Julius Pollux. (De Reg. Athen. l. 2. c. 10.)

## N° LXXII.

Verse 1583. Κύκλαδας ἐποιήσασσι.

Or in the Isles

1636. Girt by th' Ægean sea.

HERE Minerva foretells the future colonies, planted by the Descendents of Ion in the islands of the Cyclades, or cluster of Islands in the Ægean Sea, and on the maritime, and opposite coasts of both the Continents of Europe and Asia. According to Vitruvius<sup>1</sup>, “the Athenians from the re-

<sup>5</sup> Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων ἐπὶ Ἐρεχθίδος, Τηλέοσις, Ὀπληίς, Ἀιγικόρις, Ἀργαδίς, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀλκμαίωνος, δέκα ἐγένοντο. (L. 8. c. 9. f. 31.)

<sup>6</sup> Ἐπιχωρίων δ' ἑτέρων ἡρώων ἰπωνυμίας ἐξευρών. (L. 5. c. 66.)

<sup>1</sup> Athenienses ex responsis Apollinis Delphici communi consilio totius Hellados tredecim colonias uno tempore in Asiam deduxerunt; ducemque in singulis coloniis constituerunt: & summam imperii partem Ioni, Xuthi & Creusæ filio, dederunt. (l. 4. c. 1.) See also Meursius, De Reg. Athen. l. 2. c. 10.)

“ sponser

“ sponſes of the Delphick Apollo, with the common conſent of all Hellas, led at one time thirteen colonies into Aſia, and appointed a leader over each colony ; but entrusted the chief command to Ion, ſon of Xuthus and Creuſa, whom Apollo at Delphi declared by his Oracle to be his own ſon.” Vel-leius Paterculus<sup>2</sup> relates, “ that the Ionians under their leader Ion departing from Athens took poſſeſſion of the nobleſt part of the maritime region, now called Ionia, and founded cities, whoſe names he proceeds to mention.” Our Poet in his Prologus<sup>3</sup> has before made Mercury call Ion “ the founder of the Aſiatick territory.” Thucydides<sup>4</sup>, Iſocra-tes<sup>5</sup>, and other Authors confirm the teſtimony of Euripides as to the eſtabliſhment of the Aſiatick Colonies of the Ionians, planted by the Athenians ; and Herodotus<sup>6</sup> gives a particu-lar account of the Ionian cities. Strabo<sup>7</sup> alſo aſſerts, “ that Attica happened to increaſe ſo extremely in the multitude of inhabitants, that they ſent a colony of Ionians into the Pelo-ponneſe, and made the country, which they occupied, to be called Ionia, inſtead of Ægialeia ; and inſtead of Ægialenſes, the inhabitants, divided into twelve cities, were denominated Ionians : After the return of the Heraclidæ, theſe, being ex-

<sup>2</sup> Iones, duce Ione profeſti Athenis, nobiliſſimam partem regionis mari-timæ occupavere. (l. 1. c. 1.)

<sup>3</sup> Κτίτορ Ἀſιαδος χθονός. (V. 74.)

<sup>4</sup> L. 1. c. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Panathen.

<sup>6</sup> L. 1. c. 142 to 149.

<sup>7</sup> Οὕτω δὲ πολυανδρῆσαι τὴν χώραν συνέπιπτε τότε, ὥς τε ἀποικίαν τῶν Ἰώνων ἔγειλαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἦν κάτισχον, ἐπώνυμοι αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, Ἰωνίαν ἀντὶ Ἀγριαλτίας κληθεῖσαν· οἳ τε ἄνδρες ἀντὶ Ἀγριαλίων Ἴωνες προσηγορεύθησαν, εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις μερίσθεντες· Μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀνάδοτον, ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐξελαθέντες, ἐπανῆλθον πάλιν εἰς Ἀθήνας· ἐκείθεν δὲ μετὰ τῶν Κοδριδῶν ἔγειλαν τὴν Ἰωνικὴν ἀποικίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἔκτισαν δὲ δώδεκα πόλεις ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς Καρίας καὶ τῆς Λυδίας· εἰς τόσαντα μέρη διελόντες σφᾶς, ὅσα καὶ ἐν τῇ Πελοπον-νήσῳ κατέειχον. (L. 8. p. 588. ed. Janſon.)

pelled by the Achæans, returned to Athens : Hence in company with the Codridæ they led an Ionick Colony into Asia, and founded twelve cities on the maritime coast of Caria and Lydia, dividing themselves into as many parts as they originally occupied in the Peloponnese.\*

## N° LXXIII.

Verse

Τῆδε δ' ὀνόμαϊος χάριν

1588. Ἴωνες ὀνομασθέντες.

1640. Ionians, from the honour'd Ion call'd.

THE title of Ionians is here said to be derived from the Ion of the Play ; but this appellation has been supposed with great probability to have had a different origin of a far more remote antiquity : And it appears, that the name was originally very extensive from the most undoubted testimony. We learn from Herodotus <sup>1</sup>, “ that the Athenians were for a time called Ionians from Ion, Son of Xuthus, the Leader of their armies : And that the Ionians of the Peloponnese <sup>2</sup> before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus were called the Ægiales, or the Maritime Pelasgi, as the Greeks asserted ; but afterwards Ionians from Ion, the son of Xuthus : According to him however “ the Athenians <sup>3</sup> rejected this ap-

<sup>1</sup> Ἴωνος δὲ τῷ Εὐδοῦ στρατάρχῃ γενομένῳ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες. (L. 8: c. 44.)

<sup>2</sup> Πρὶν ἢ Δαναὸν τι καὶ Εὐδοῦ ἀπικέσθαι εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλῆες· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τῷ Εὐδοῦ, Ἴωνες. (l. 7. c. 94.)

<sup>3</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφυγον τὸ ἔθνος, ὃ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κελεύσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ φαίνεται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτίκῃ ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι· οἱ δὲ θυώσκειν ἑαυτοὺς αὐταὶ τῷ τῷ ὀνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἰσθὺς ἰδρύσαντο, ἐπὶ τῇ σφίσι αὐτίκῃ τὸ ἔθνος ἰθὺς Παυσανίου· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτὴ μεταδῆναι μηδαμῶσαι ἄλλοις Ἴωνιν. (L. 1. c. 143.)

pellation, as well as the other Ionians in Græce, and were most of them in his time ashamed of it : But the twelve cities of the Ionians themselves in Asia gloried in the appellation, erected a temple, and imposed on themselves the common name of Panionium ; of which they were willing that none but the Ionians themselves should participate." Strabo<sup>4</sup> also asserts, "that the Ionick Dialect was the same with the ancient Attick, and that the Athenians were formerly called Ionians : Hence are derived the Ionians inhabiting Asia who now make use of the Ionick tongue, as it is called : In another place he informs us, <sup>5</sup> "that Attica was formerly called Ionia and Ias, and that Homer, when he mentions the Iaones, means the Athenians." Pausanias<sup>6</sup> relates, "that Selinus, King of Ægialus, gave his only daughter Helice in marriage to Ion, and adopted him as his son and successor in the government : That after the death of Selinus he there reigned, founded a city in Ægialus of the name of Helice derived from his Wife, and called the nation Ionians from himself : This however was no exchange of name, but only an addition ; for they were called the Ægialenses Ionians." He afterwards adds, "that the Descendents of Ion retained the

<sup>4</sup> Τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἀτθίδι τὴν αὐτὴν φάμεν· καὶ γὰρ Ἴωνες ἑκατέρω οἱ τοῖς Ἀτθικοῖς, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιν οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐποικησάντες Ἴωνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῇ αὐτῇ λογομένη γλώττῃ Ἰάδι. (L. 8. p. 513. ed. Janfon.)

<sup>5</sup> Ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰας ἑκατέρω καὶ ὁ Ποιητὴς ὅταν φῇ, Ἐσθλάδε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες,

Τῆς Ἀθηναίας λέγει. (L. 9. p. 601.)

<sup>6</sup> Ὁ Σελινὸς τὴν θυγατέρα Ἑλίκην, ἣ μὲν οἱ παῖς ἦν, γυναῖκα αὐτῷ διδὼς, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰῶνα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παῖδα ποιούμενος. Καὶ τῶν Αἰγιάλειων τῇ ἀρχῇ Ἰωνεῖλαι ἀποθανόντος Σελινεῖος καὶ Ἑλίκην τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ᾤκισεν ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλει πόλει, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπους Ἰωνας ἑκάλεσεν ἀφ' αὐτῆς. Τὸτο δ' ἐμείσθη τὸ ὄνομα, προσθήκη δὲ σφίσιν ἐγένετο. Αἰγιάλει· γὰρ ἑκατέρω Ἴωνες. (L. 7. c. 1. p. 522. ed. Kuhn.)



sovereignty of the Ionians, till they and the whole nation fell under the Achæans<sup>7</sup>." The Ionians, says Strabo<sup>8</sup>, speaking of Ægialus in Achæa, who were originally of Athenian extraction, formerly possessed this country; and its ancient name was Ægialeia as the inhabitants were called Ægiales; but the country was afterwards denominated Ionia, as well as Attica, from Ion, son of Xuthus: Hence it appears, that a considerable part of Græce had this appellation: But it was even the common title of the whole country in Europe, as the Asiatics themselves called it. Thus Æschylus<sup>9</sup> in his Persians makes Atossa call Greece the land of the Ionians; and the Chorus in that play calls the people of Greece the Ionians. Aristophanes<sup>10</sup> also, in the mouth of a Persian nobleman, uses this expression; and the Scholiast<sup>11</sup> there tells us, that the Barbarians called all the Hellenes by the name of Ionians: The foundation therefore of this title seems to have been derived from Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, and the grandson of the Patriarch Noah, whose posterity after the deluge is recorded in Genesis<sup>12</sup> to have peopled the isles of the Gentiles. I shall submit the following observations to the reader from an essay, intitled, An Enquiry into the origin of the Greek Language, by the late Bishop Squire<sup>13</sup>. "We find this very land of Græce, in the sacred records, more

<sup>7</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἀπογόνοι τῷ Ἰωνος τὸ Ἰώνων ἔσχον κράτος, ἐς ὃ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ ὁ δῆμος. (L. 7. c. 1. p. 522.)

<sup>8</sup> Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Ἴωνες ἐκράτουν, ἐξ Ἀθηναίων τὸ γένος ὄντες· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν Αἰγιάλεια, καὶ οἱ ἐνοικῶντες Αἰγιαλεῖς, ὕστερον δ' ἀπ' ἰκίωνων Ἰωνία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀσική ἀπὸ Ἰωνος τῆς Ἑββ. Cl. 8. p. 587.

<sup>9</sup> Ἰαόνων γῆν. (v. 178.) Ἰαόνων λαός, (v. 1030.)

<sup>10</sup> Ἰαοναῦ, (Achar. v. 104.) Τῆς Ἰάονας λέγει. (v. 106.)

<sup>11</sup> Ὅτι πάντας τὰς Ἑλλήνας Ἰάονας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκάλεον, (on v. 106.)

<sup>12</sup> C. 10. v. 5. <sup>13</sup> Two Essays, Cambridge, 1741. p. 144.

“ than

“ than once expressly termed Javan or Ionia; that is, the  
 “ country of Javan, for as the original word in the Hebrew  
 “ is wrote יָבָן, according to the different insertion of the  
 “ vowels, it may be pronounced IoN or IaVaN, or IaoN, or  
 “ IæNNæ<sup>13</sup>: And what still more strongly strengthens and  
 “ confirms this opinion, that the country of Javan was really  
 “ the same with that of Græce, is, that the Syrians, Per-  
 “ sians, Arabians, and the Barbarians in general never called  
 “ the Inhabitants of this land Hellens, the name they most  
 “ commonly gave themselves; but always Javans, or Ioni-  
 “ ans<sup>14</sup>: The Greeks themselves indeed are ready enough to  
 “ tell us, that this name was of a much later date than that  
 “ I have now assigned; and that it took its original from  
 “ the brave and noble exploits of one Ion an Athenian, the  
 “ Son of Xuthus, who was three entire generations younger  
 “ than Deucalion: But this opinion seems to have no better  
 “ foundation, than meer unsupported conjecture; for what  
 “ had the Syrians, Arabs, Egyptians, and those other Na-  
 “ tions, which the Greeks term barbarous, to do with the  
 “ Athenian Ion, a Man of no character with regard to them,  
 “ and scarcely known and acknowledged by his country-  
 “ men<sup>15</sup> themselves? The very actions, that are said to have  
 “ been performed by him, allowing them to be all true in

<sup>13</sup> See Bochart. Geo. Sacra, l. 3. c. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Ἐπεικὺς δὲ οἱ ἑσθέρων τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνας λέγουσι (Hesych. ad vocem Ἴωνας)  
 He also refers us to the Scholiast of Aristophanes, before cited.

<sup>15</sup> The expression of the Bishop is here certainly too strong; for we have  
 produced the testimony of Herodotus, Euripides, Strabo, Pausanias, Vitru-  
 vius, Velleius Paterculus, and Scholiasts, who speak of Ion, as a man of un-  
 doubted eminence in military and political talents, and who gave his name to  
 four tribes of Athens, led colonies, and founded cities both in Europe and  
 Asia.

“ fact,

“ fact, are however far from being of that distinguished  
 “ merit, as to deserve to have a whole people denominated  
 “ from him. Had this been the true original of the name of  
 “ the Ionians, we should most undoubtedly have found it  
 “ chiefly in use amongst the Greeks themselves, and by them  
 “ taught and propagated to the neighbouring nations:  
 “ Whereas the direct contrary of this is evident; for it does  
 “ not appear from history, as far as I am able to learn, that  
 “ the Greeks in general ever called themselves Ionians, or  
 “ that even the Athenians, whose country had the honour  
 “ of giving birth to this imaginary Hero, were ever so well  
 “ pleased with this name as to endeavour to propagate it:  
 “ Nay, it is certain from history, that they even disliked it,  
 “ avoided to make use of it, and were unwilling to be called  
 “ by it: <sup>16</sup> Οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφύγον τὴν  
 “ νομα, καὶ βούλομενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆσθαι, as Herodotus tells us.  
 “ When therefore the learned Bochart, in his Phaleg <sup>17</sup>  
 “ demonstrates, that the Javans or Ionians were not  
 “ originally a meer party distinction among the Greeks,  
 “ assumed by accident, as it were, in later times; but that  
 “ in their first and most early ages the Inhabitants of all  
 “ the countries between Thrace and Peloponnesus inclusively  
 “ were called after this name; is not this a most convincing  
 “ argument, does it not amount even to demonstration, that  
 “ the Greek account of the original of this appellation of  
 “ Ionians cannot possibly be true? Though the Athenians  
 “ and some of their nearest neighbours might be supposed to  
 “ have been called after this name in memory of their coun-  
 “ tryman Ion; yet how does this affect, or in the least con-

<sup>16</sup> L. 1. c. 143.<sup>17</sup> L. 2. c. 3.

“ corn

cern the Thracians", and those other nations who at this time, it is more than probable, had not the least commerce or correspondence with them? We must therefore have recourse to some cause as extensive as the effect; that which I have assigned seems fully to come up to the point; viz. that the Javans and Pelasgi were in reality one and the same people, planting and inhabiting the same countries at the same time, from their Ancestor denominated Javans, or Ionians, and from their manner of life Pelasgi, a Wandering People." This ingenious explication naturally solves all the difficulties in regard to this character of Ion: His Mosack Archetype, the Asiatick Javan, was designedly lost in oblivion by the Græcians, and particularly by the Athenians, that their national vanity might not suffer by this traditional badge of oriental extraction; nor clash with their favourite prejudice of considering themselves the Autochthones of their own country, or the native Inhabitants sprung from its very soil, and not imported from any other: In order therefore to account for the derivation of the name of Ionians, if they did not absolutely create an imaginary character of their own, the Dramatick Ion of Euripides, yet they undoubtedly aggrandized the exploits of the Son of Creusa. By this artful invention they secured to themselves a double advantage, for they lost the ideal disgrace of acknowledging themselves, as a colony planted by a foreign Founder; and yet they retained the flattering compliment of stamping on the islands and the Asiatick Colonies the mark of political derivation from them.

<sup>18</sup> Ἐνιοὶ καὶ τοὶ Πελαῖται, καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ Δωριεῖς. (Hesych. Ἰωνες.)

## N° LXXIV.

Verse 1590. Δωρος.

1642. Dorus.

HERE Dorus is called the Son of Xuthus and Creusa, which is contrary to the general testimony of History concerning him. Herodotus <sup>1</sup> calls him the son of Hellen; and Strabo <sup>2</sup> describes him, “as the Son of Hellen, who sent him from Phthia, as well as his other younger Sons, to seek for a settlement of their own; and he adds, that Dorus having established the colony of the Dorians about Parnassus, left them denominated from him: And Conon, an Historian, preserved in Photius <sup>3</sup>, asserts the same story: But Iamblichus <sup>4</sup>, in the life of Pythagoras, relates, that some affirmed, “that Dorus was the son of Ducalion and Pyrrha, and that Hellen was his Son; but he adds, that in the sacred records of the Babylonians, Hellen, son of Jupiter, was father of Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus: And which of these two accounts was accurate, in regard to these ancients, it was no easy matter

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ δὲ Δῶρος τῷ Ἑλληνος, (l. 1. c. 567.)

<sup>2</sup> Τὸς δ' ἄλλους ἐξω διαπέμψαι ξηλοσύνας ἰδρύσιν ἑκάστον αὐτῶν, ὃν Δῶρος μὲν τὰς περὶ Παρνασσὸν Δωρίεας συνωκίσας κατέλιπεν ἱππυνύμενος αὐτῷ. (l. 8. p. 588.)

<sup>3</sup> Δῶρος δ' ὁ δεύτερος μοῖραν τῷ λαῷ λαβὼν παρὰ τῷ πατρὸς ἀποικίζειν, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Παρνασσὸν τὸ ὄρος κτίσει πόλεις, ἐξ ᾧ Δωριεῖς. (Biblio: h. p. 438. ed. Hoefsch.)

<sup>4</sup> Λέγουσι δὲ τινὰς φησὶ Δευκαλίωνος τῷ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Πύρρᾳ τῆς Ἐπιμηθεὺς γενέσθαι Δῶρον. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίων ἀκείνῃ ἱερῇ Ἑλλήνα γεγονέναι Διδὸς τῷ δὲ Δῶρος καὶ Ἡθῶν καὶ Αἰόλον ὁποῖόν τις μὲν ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἐκ εὐμαρὸς δέχισθαι τ' ἀκριβὲς τοῖς νεώτεροις καταμαθεῖν ὁμολογούμενοι δὲ δι' ἑκατέρω τῶν ἱστοριῶν συναγισθαι, τὸ πρὸς ἐλπίδα, εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Δωρίδα· μετὰ δὲ ταύτην γένεσθαι τὴν Αἰολίδα, λαχέσθαι ἀπὸ τῷ Αἰόλῳ τὸ ὄνομα· τρεῖς δὲ τὴν Ἰάδα γινόμεναι ἀπὸ Ἰανος τῷ Ἡθῶν τιλάειν δὲ τὴν Ἀτλίδα, τεθειμένην ἀπὸ Κρείουσας τῆς Ἑριχθίδος· κληθεῖσιν δὲ τρισὶ γενεαῖς ὑστερὸς τῶν πρώτων. (c. 14. p. 195. ed. Kust.)

for

for posterity to determine ; but that it was confessed as a truth, deduced from each of these histories, that the most ancient dialect was the Dorick, next to the Æolick so called from Æolus ; the third the Ionick, denominated from Ion, son of Xuthus ; the fourth the Attick, established by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus ; and this was three generations subsequent to the former :” But Meursius rightly observes, that the assertion of Jamblichus in regard to the Attick Dialect is a mistake. (De Reg. Athen. l. 1. c. 14.)

## N° LXXV.

Verse 1592. Ἀχαιοὺς.

1646. Achæus.

THE Scholiast on Apollonius <sup>1</sup> corresponds with Euripides, and says, “ that Achæa was so denominated from Achæus son of Xuthus :” Also Conon <sup>2</sup>, preserved in Photius, relates, “ that Xuthus, the youngest Son of Hellen, coming to Athens, built the Tetrapolis of Attica, and married Creusa daughter of Erechtheus, on whom he begot Achæus and Ion : That Achæus, having committed involuntary murder, was banished ; and coming into the Peloponnese built Achæa Tetrapolis, from whom are derived the Achæans.” Pausa-

<sup>1</sup> Ὅτι αὐτὴ πρώτη ἐκλήθη Ἀχαιῖα ἀπὸ Ἀχαιῖ τῷ Πύθῳ. (Argon. l. 1. v. 242.)

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ δὲ νεώτατος Ἀθηναῖος ἀφικόμενος κτίζει τετραπόλιν καλυμένην τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ γαμῶν Κρέουσιν τὴν Ἐρεχθίδως, καὶ τίθει ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Ἴωνα· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀχαιὸς ἀπέστην φόνον ἱργασάμενος ἤλαθ᾽· καὶ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἰδὼν Ἀχαιῖαν κτίζει τετραπόλιν, ἐξ ἧς Ἀχαιοί. (Bibliot. p. 438.)

nias<sup>3</sup> also mentions, "that Xuthus, flying to Athens, was esteemed worthy of receiving Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus; and by her had Achæus and Ion as his Sons:" And Strabo<sup>4</sup> makes Achæus a Son of Xuthus, who, after having committed an involuntary murder, fled to Laconia, and occasioned the Achæans there to be so denominated.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθίδος ἡξιώθη λαβεῖν, καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιοὺν καὶ Ἴωνα ἴσχειν ἐξ αὐτῆς. (L. 7. c. 1. p. 521. ed. Kuhn.)

<sup>4</sup> Τῶν δὲ τούτου παίδων Ἀχαιὸς μὲν φόνοι ἀνέσταιτο πράξας ἔφυγεν εἰς Λακεδαιμονίαν, καὶ Ἀχαιὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ κληθῆναι παρισκιάσιν. (l. 8. p. 588.)

## I O N.

## F I N A L E S S A Y.

AS the History and Mythology with the laws and customs contained in the Ion have been amply considered, I shall here contemplate the beauties and defects of the drama in its Plot, Characters, Sentiments, and Language. The Prologus of a Græcian Play is defined by Aristotle<sup>1</sup>, “as a part of its quantity, comprehending all that portion of it preceding the *παρόδος*, or first choral song:” Thus Euripides, where he is introduced by Aristophanes in one of his Comedies<sup>2</sup>, calls it “the first part of Tragedy:” It was therefore essentially inwoven<sup>3</sup> with it, and differs entirely from our modern Prologue, which may be termed a preliminary address of the

<sup>1</sup> “Ἐστὶ δὲ πρόλογος μὲν μέρος ὅλον τραγωδίας τὸ πρὸ χοροῦ παρόδου· παρόδος μὲν δὲ πρώτη λέξις ὅλη χοροῦ. (De Poet. c. 12.)

<sup>2</sup> “Ὅπως τὸ πρῶτον τῆς Τραγωδίας μέρος. (Ranæ, v. 1151.)

<sup>3</sup> Il est donc certain, que les Grecs n’ont point eu de Tragedie, sans ce qu’ Aristote appelle ici le Prologue pour une partie de quantité de ce Poeme, (Dacier, sur la Poetique d’Arist. c. 12. p. 173.) When therefore Milton in his Preface to Samson Agonistes asserts, “that ancient Tragedy used no Prologue, yet sometimes in case of self-defence, or explanation that, which Martial calls an epistle,” he must be understood to mean a Prologue in the modern acceptation of the word: I therefore use the word Prologus in this Essay in order to avoid the idea attached to Prologue.



Poet to the Audience <sup>4</sup> detached from the Play itself. The established custom of Æschylus and Sophocles was to develop in the regular progress of their dramas the several incidents of the plot without any previous communication to the spectators in their respective Prologues of the subject or the events, which either constituted the foundation or the revolutions of the piece then presented to them: But Euripides here introduced an innovation <sup>5</sup>, and opened the Prologus of his Plays with a dramatick character, who informed the Theatre of the history of the plot. We have his own express assertion, as contained in Aristophanes, for the truth of this interesting anecdote;

Ἄλλ' οὐζίων πρώτιστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἶπεν εὐθύς  
 Τῷ δρᾶματός. (Ran. v. 978.)

He is contending in this scene for a superiority over his rival Æschylus in consequence of the advantages, which had

<sup>4</sup> Au reste il ne faut pas confondre ce Prologue de la Tragedie Grecque avec le Prologue de la Comedie Latine: Ce Prologue des pieces Comiques ne fait point partie de l'action theatrale, & il est emprunté des Prologues de la vieille Comedie Grecque, où il est d'ordinaire au milieu de la piece, sous le nom de Parabase. Les Latins l'ont mis presque toujours a la tête de leurs pieces. Il y en a eu pourtant qui ont mis le Prologue dans la piece même, comme Plaute qui a mis après le premier acte celui du soldat Fanfaron; mais cela n'a jamais été suivi des Poetes sages & reguliers. Terence n'a eu garde de donner dans un si grand abus. (Dacier sur le Poetique d'Arist. c. 12. p. 174.)

<sup>5</sup> The λόγος προλαγώνη, mentioned by Aristotle in the fourth chapter of his Poetics, as the invention of Æschylus, is justly explained by Dacier as the principal character, and not as the Prologus; Il inventa l'idée d'un principal personnage. On s'est donc trompé, quand on a cru, qu'ici προλαγώνης λόγος signifie le Prologue. Outre que ce terme n'a jamais été employé dans ce sens-la, il n'est pas vrai qu'Eschyle se soit servi de Prologue dans ses pieces. (Rem. 37. sur le chap. 4.) When Aristotle, in his next chapter, asserts, that the Inventor of the Prologus was unknown, he is there speaking of comedy, and not of tragedy. (c. 5.)

accrued to the Græcian drama from his improved refinements of it. Thus Thomas Magister <sup>6</sup> in the life of Euripides informs us, “ that he invented many things in the Dramatick Art, unknown to his Predecessors ; for to delineate the subject in the beginning of the drama, and to lead the Reader, as it were by the hand, forwards into the plot, was the artifice of Euripides.” This preliminary Speaker is sometimes a principal character in the Play ; but he has often no other connexion <sup>7</sup> with it, as Mercury here, who expressly enters for no other purpose than to relate in 81 lines the history and genealogy of Creusa and Ion : Yet not contented with conveying the previous intelligence of the facts, prior to the supposed commencement of the play, he also anticipates <sup>8</sup> the important events contrived within it ; such as the design of Apollo <sup>9</sup> to impose his own Son on Xuthus ; and <sup>10</sup> Creusa’s discovery of Ion, as her illegitimate offspring from the embrace of the God ; nor is there a single circumstance related by him, which is not in the sequel of the drama revealed with greater propriety ; This innovation therefore of Euripides must be confessed to be so far from an improvement, that in reality it becomes a very essential disadvantage : The curiosity of the Spectator from this immediate information naturally

<sup>6</sup> Πολλὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τέχνην ἐξεῦρεν, ἃ ὁδυσιστὸν γε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τό τε γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῷ δράματι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν διατυπῶν, καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὥσπερ χειραγωγεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, Εὐριπίδου τέχνημα. (Ed. Barnes, p. 50.)

<sup>7</sup> Donatus upon Terence calls this character *προλαλίδον πρόσωπον*, id est personam extrā argumentum, a protactick personage, foreign to the fable. (Phormio, a. 1. s. 1.)

<sup>8</sup> Hence appears the error of Castelvetro, who speaking of the Prologus of Euripides asserts, that the Preliminary Character never converses on future things, which he could not reasonably know, as the Prologi in the Latin Comedies ; Ma questi cotale introdotto a ragionare solo non ragiona ne del poeta, ne delle cose lontane & separate della tavola, ne delle cose future, che ragionevolmente non possa sapere, come fanno i prolaghi nelle comedie Latine. (Poet. d’Aristot. Vulgar. ed. 1576. p. 105.) <sup>9</sup> V. 70. <sup>10</sup> V. 729.

relaxes its animating vigour; and the passions, which the duty and interest of every Dramatick Author require him to suspend, lose a considerable portion of their invigorating influence: Hence instead of the sudden pleasure, bursting from the incidents gradually unfolded, the mind feels an effort of a less active nature:

Primus at ille labor versu tenuisse legentem  
 Suspensum, incertumque diu, qui denique rerum  
 Eventus maneat. (Vida de Arte Poeticâ, l. 2. v. 100.)

As yet unfold the event on no pretence,  
 'Tis your chief task to keep us in suspense.

Pitt's Vida's Art of Poetry. B. 2.

Though Euripides of all Poets is the most tragical, yet, says Aristotle<sup>12</sup>, he does not manage well in other respects: Perhaps this great Critick might in this passage have alluded to the defect under consideration: But on the very point we have the express testimony of Antiquity; for in the Frogs of Aristophanes there is a dramatick challenge between Æschylus and Euripides on the subject of their Prologus: When the latter maintains the superiority of his own, and recites different lines from the beginning of several of his Plays in support of his allegation, the former constantly intercepts him, by closing the hemistick of each Iambick verse with *Ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν*, "He has lost his little oil-pot:" By this expression Æschylus humorously insinuates, that Euripides

<sup>12</sup> Καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης, ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἄλλα τραγικωδέως γὰρ τῶν ποιητῶν φαινόσθαι. De Art. Poet, c. 13.

had debased the dignity <sup>12</sup> of his dramas by the idleness and monotony <sup>13</sup> of his Prologues: And when Bacchus, the presiding Judge, in the conclusion of the scene pronounces his solemn sentence, he informs Euripides, that the oil-pot in his Prologues is like a carnosity in the eye <sup>14</sup>: If to this judgement of Aristophanes it should be objected, that, as he was the decided enemy of Euripides, it can only prove the rancour of his resentment, I reply, that the Comick Satirist would for his own interest attempt to wound his Adversary in the most vulnerable part, according to the prevailing judgement of his most enlightened Contemporaries: The best apology for our Poet is not to deny the general truth of the accusation, or to attempt to exculpate him entirely; but to assert, that though undoubtedly he unravels too much, he does not disclose by his prophetick prelude all the interesting events of the drama: Though other Plays are more fortunate in this respect than the Ion, yet this will furnish sufficient evidence to soften the glaring impropriety of the Prologus: Here Mercury does not foretell the intended poison of Ion,

<sup>12</sup> The Scholiast Bifetus on (V. 1232.) of this play of Aristophanes defines *ληκύθιον* to signify the lamp or receptacle of the oil: Hence metaphorically applied to all laborious and nocturnal lucubrations, and sometimes to elevated diction and sonorous words: Here therefore Æschylus threatens Euripides with having spoiled the pompous majesty of his Prologues; or, as others understand it, Æschylus would insinuate by this term, that he soils his rival by his own weapon, viz. by the flimsy and frivolous expression of his low and awkward Prologues: Thus far the Scholiast: To this may be added, that Callimachus called tragedy *Ληκύθιος πρῶτα*. (See Frag. Callim. a Bent. 319. ed. Ernes. vol. I. p. 548.) Hence Horace, Projicit ampullas, (De Art. Poet. v. 97.)

<sup>13</sup> He attacks (says the Scholiast, on V. 1250.) the uniformity of the beginnings of his dramas.

<sup>14</sup> (V. 1278.) The original, *τὰ συκὰ*, here implies a disease, which, according to the Scholiast, arises from a fleshy substance in the eye.

nor the miraculous discovery of it, nor the sentence of the Delphick Tribunal, nor the flight of Creusa to the altar. From this objection to the Plot I shall proceed to another: This is the improbable supposition, that Ion should have lived to the age of manhood according to his own expression *αἰώνιος*<sup>15</sup>, or unnamed: If he had before received any appellation, this would have not prevented Xuthus from naming him Ion, as he now does<sup>16</sup>, "because he first met him when issuing from the temple"<sup>17</sup>: For by the law of Athens the Father was invested with the privilege of naming his child, not only originally, but of changing his name at any time after his birth, according to his own pleasure<sup>18</sup>: Thus Euripides had a fair opportunity of avoiding the absurdity of the present supposition, without losing the opportunity of giving the appellation to Ion; which circumstance perhaps might be built on some historical anecdote. The next objection to the Plot is of a nature more important: This is the anticipation by Creusa of the discovery of her secret connexion with Apollo in the middle of the Play to the Chorus and the Tutor; which occasions a repetition of it in the Catastrophe, to which it ought to have been reserved, when her situation would naturally have extorted the delicate confession in the

<sup>15</sup> V. 1372.<sup>16</sup> V. 661.<sup>17</sup> V. 662.

<sup>18</sup> The truth of this assertion appears from the oration of Demosthenes against Boeotus on the subject of his name; where the plaintiff Mantitheus exclaims, "Come now, if your father thought proper that you should either continue to retain the original name he conferred on you, or chose to alter it to another, would it not appear reasonable for him to exercise that power?" And in the conclusion he expressly says, "the Law not only enables parents to annex whatever name they please to their children originally, but again to abolish and destroy it by publick solemnity, if they are so disposed." (Ed. Reiske, vol. 2. pars 1. p. 1003 & 1006.)

moment of parental transport for the fortunate recovery of her lost Infant : Necessity would then have obliged her to reveal, what Inclination alone does now ; and she might have been excited without this discovery to poison Ion, whom she then imagined to be the spurious Son of her husband Xuthus, either from a principle of disappointed private revenge, or of barbarous policy, to prevent the usurpation of her hereditary throne by a Stranger : The management therefore of the Poet appears to me in this respect inartificial ; and, if we consider it philosophically, perhaps unnatural : The decorum of female modesty is violated ; for would any woman in the situation of Creusa thus voluntarily proclaim her own disgrace ? Would she, in defiance of the most delicate sentiment of the female mind, sacrifice her own reputation, because she apprehended the ingratitude of her lover and her husband ? What remains after this, but to exclaim in the words of Medea in Apollonius,

Ἐρρέτω αἰδώς,

Ἐρρέτω ἀγλαΐη. (Argon. l. 3. v. 785.)

Now farewell Shame,

Farewell Renown.

How charmingly, on the contrary, has Ovid painted the excessive reluctance of the chaste and dying Lucretia to reveal even to her Father and to her Husband the audacious act of Tarquin ; as it revolted so violently against the innate modesty of her sex :

Ter conata loqui, ter destitit ; ausaque quartò

Non oculos adeò sustulit illa suos ;

Hoc quoque Tarquinio debēbimus ? eloquar, inquit,

Eloquar infelix dedecus ipsa meum :

5

Quàque

Quàque potest, narrat ; restabant ultima ; flevit,  
Et matronales erubuere genæ. (Fast. l. 2. v. 824.)

The next defect in the plot, which I shall mention, is the prolix narrative of the Domestick of Creusa to the Chorus in the interesting moment, when he informs them of the discovery of the poison at the banquet: As accomplices in the crime of their royal Mistress, they naturally expect to be involved in the same punishment, which threatens to be of the most formidable nature: The account therefore, instead of containing no less than 106 lines <sup>19</sup>, ought to have been concise, and adapted to the anxiety of the hearers in this alarming interval of horror: How extremely unnatural is it to torture the Chorus with an impertinent description of the tent, the figures of the Delphick tapestry, and the ceremonies of the banquet, while their minds must have been agitated in this state of uncertainty! The Poet has here suffered his imagination to wanton in luxuriance at the expense of dramatick propriety; and the whole passage may be considered as a fair illustration of the beautiful cypress of Horace, elegantly designed, when the real object to be painted is a shipwreck:

Sed nunc non erat his locus, et fortasse cupressum  
Scis simulare; quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes  
Navibus, ære dato qui pingitur? (De Art. Poet. v. 21.)

This purple shred therefore must be condemned, as a rich but affected ornament misplaced, and though it dazzles the eye, it revolts against the judgment. The last objection to the Plot, which I shall mention, is that of the machinery of

<sup>19</sup> From v. 1122 to v. 1229.

Minerva in the catastrophe of the piece : It is evident, says Aristotle<sup>20</sup>, “that the unravelling of the fable ought to happen from the subject itself, and not by the use of machinery, as in the Medea : But the machinery, if used, should relate to things out of the drama itself, either to such past events, which it is impossible for man to know, or to those in future, which require prediction and explanation ; for we admit, that the Gods can discern all things :” Hence we may collect, that Aristotle<sup>21</sup> disapproved in general of machinery in the drama ; but, if there introduced, he limits it to particular objects and circumstances ; If the introduction of Mercury in the Prologus be measured by this standard of criticism, it must immediately be condemned, as defenceless ; but this of Minerva in the catastrophe will be found to contain all those circumstances prescribed by Aristotle and Horace ;

Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit, (De Art. Poet. v. 192.)

For the Goddess reveals to Ion the connexion of Apollo with Creusa, palliates the response of the oracle, declares the resolution of the God to disclose the truth hereafter at Athens,

<sup>20</sup> Φανερόν δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτῆ διὰ τῆς μύθου συμβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· ἀλλὰ μηχανῇ χρήσιον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξω τῆς δράματος, ἢ ὅσα πρὸ τῆς γίγνεται, ἀούχον οἷόν τι ἀνθρώπων εἶδεναι, ἢ ὅσα ὕστερον, ἀδύναται προαγορεύσειν καὶ ἀγγελίας· ἀπαντα γὰρ ἀποδίδωμεν τοῖς θεοῖς ὄραν. (De Poet. c. 15.)

<sup>21</sup> We may also discover the opinion of Cicero on this subject ; for he makes his Epicurean Philosopher Velleius sarcastically assert of the Professors of other Sects, “that when unable to unfold the end of the argument, they have recourse to a Deity, as the Tragick Poets :” Ut tragici poetæ, cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad Deum. (De Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 20.) Hence it appears, that the Roman Orator condemned this mode of solving the catastrophe.

and



and foretells the future glory of Ion and his Descendents in Asia and Europe. "There are but four pieces in Euripides, says Dacier", where the presence of Gods is conducted with any regard to this rule of Aristotle: Those are the Iphigenia in Tauris, the Helena, the Ion, and the Electra: And yet I am persuaded that in those very pieces Euripides could have discovered in his art other means of dispensing with these machines." These are the principal defects, which appear to me in the conduct of the plot; but with all its imperfections it has many beauties to counterbalance them: The intended murder of a Son by his own Mother, and the threatened revenge of that very Son against his Parent, mutually unknown to each other, are, as the Pere Brumoy<sup>23</sup> observes, truly theatrical; and he ventures to call it, *ce double projet de parricide*<sup>24</sup>. This incident, according to the rules  
of

<sup>23</sup> Il n'y a proprement dans Euripide que quatre pieces, où la présence des Dieux soit un peu ménagée, comme Aristote le prescrit icy: c'est l'Iphigenie Taurique, l'Helene, l'Ion, & l'Electre. Encore suis-je persuade que dans ces memes pieces Euripide auroit pu trouver dans son Art des moyens de se passer de ces machines. (Sur la Poet. d'Arist. c. 16. Rem. 19.)

<sup>24</sup> Tom. 5. Ion. p. 130 & 131.

<sup>24</sup> The word is thus used without any regard to its derivation by the best French authors to express the murder of any near relation, and not that of a father only: In this sense it occurs in Rousseau, *Un mari parricide qui faisoit enterrer sa femme en vie.* (La Nouv. Heloise, tom. 3. part 6. lett. 11.) Thus too parricide occurs in the English language; for Phædra, in the tragedy by Edmund Smith, mistaking her husband Theseus for Lycon, offers to stab him; but being informed of her error, she exclaims,

My Lord! O equal Heav'n!

Must each portentous moment rise in crimes,

And falling life go off in parricide? (A. 5. p. 74. ed. 1719.)

According to this idea, Dr. Johnson in his dictionary on this word observes, "that it signifies the murder of one to whom reverence is due;" and he cites the authority of Dryden. It is also very remarkable, that the same abuse of the word is likewise to be found in the Latin Language, as appears  
from

of Aristotle, is of the finest quality, because it happens between relations of the nearest consanguinity: And he expressly asserts<sup>25</sup>, “that if a Mother kill a Son, or a Son a Mother, or if either of them attempt such an action, this is a subject, which the Dramatick Poet ought to embrace.” This happy correspondence in the *Ion* with the precept of this great master of criticism did not escape the penetration of Dacier<sup>26</sup> in his excellent remarks on the Poeticks of Aristotle; for he there observes, that both these interesting circumstances are found united in this play: “Il y a une piece d’Euripide, ou ces deux choses se rencontrent en meme temps; la mere veut tuer son fils, & le fils veut faire mourir sa mere: C’est l’*Ion*, ou Creuse fait ses efforts pour perdre son fils *Ion* qu’elle prend pour le batard de son mari Xuthus, & ou *Ion* veut faire mourir Creuse, parce qu’elle lui avoit preparé du poison: ce double danger de deux personnes si proches, qui ne se connoissent pas, fait un effet admirable dans cette piece.” As this atrocious act of murder between these near relations, mutually ignorant of each other, is not completed by execution, but fortunately prevented, we may also pro-

from a fragment of a Roman Tragedian, preserved in Cicero: Here Medea is said to have scattered the limbs of her brother, that, while her father was engaged in collecting them, she herself might escape; and thus procured her own safety by this parricide of her near relation,

Sibi salutem ut familiari pareret parricidio. (De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 26.)

And the words of the Roman law, as cited by the same author, considered the sacrilegious man as a parricide, Sacrum sacrove commendatum qui clepserit rapseritque, parricida esto. (De. Leg. l. 2. c. 9.)

<sup>25</sup> “Ὅταν δ’ ἐν ταῖς φιλαῖς ἐγγίηται τὰ πάθη ὅσων εἰ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῶν, ἢ υἱὸς πατέρα, ἢ μήτηρ υἱόν, ἢ υἱὸς μητέρα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢ μέλλῃ, ἢ τοιούτον τι ἄλλο δεῖν, ταῦτα ζήλειον. (De Poet. c. 14.)

<sup>26</sup> Rem. 6. sur le chap. 15. de la Poet. d’Arist.

nounce it by the same sovereign decision of Aristotle <sup>27</sup> the most perfect of all the different modes of dramatick actions; for it has not any thing flagitious in it, and at the same time the remembrance is striking: It also corresponds with those admired instances, which he himself cites from Euripides; “such as the discovery of Merope in his Cressphontes, preparing to kill her son, but before the completion of the act recognizing him; or that in his Iphigenia, where the sister recollects her brother; or that in his Helle, when the Mother on the point of delivering her Son to his enemies discovers her mistake:” But the circumstance, which I most admire in the plot, is the noble effect in the catastrophe, when Creusa, after sheltering herself at the altar from the vengeance of her unknown son, rushes with the impetuosity of maternal affection, as soon as she discovers Ion from the casket and its appendages to have been the infant, whom she formerly exposed: This ἀναγνώρισις <sup>28</sup>, or remembrance, falls within the second division of the first species of those five different modes, which Aristotle has discussed in the sixteenth chapter of his Poeticks: I mean that by external and adventitious <sup>29</sup> tokens, “like the necklaces, or the little cradle in the piece called Tyro,” to which he alludes; and as it is accompanied with

<sup>27</sup> Βέλτιον δὲ τὸ ἀγνοῦν ἢ μὴ πράξειν, πράξειν δὲ ἀναγνώρισαι· τὸ τι γὰρ μισερὸν οὐ πρόσεισι· καὶ ἡ ἀναγνώρισις ἐκπλακτικόν· κρᾶτιστοι δὲ τὸ τελευτᾶν· λίγω δὲ οἷον ἐν τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ ἢ Μερόπῃ μέλλει τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτείνει δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ἀναγνώρισα· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγένειᾳ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλῇ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐκδιδοῖσι μέλλων, ἀναγνώρισιν. (De Poet. l. 14.)

<sup>28</sup> This is defined by Aristotle, the transition from ignorance to knowledge, producing the friendship or enmity of those determined either for happiness or misery, Ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή, ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ ἔχθραν τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὡρισμένων. (De Poet. c. 11.)

<sup>29</sup> Τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς, τὰ τι περιδέραια, καὶ οἷον ἐν τῇ Τυροῦ διὰ τῆς σκάφης. (De Poet. c. 16.)

the *περιπέτεια* <sup>30</sup>, or revolution of Fortune (Creusa, one of the principal Persons, being thus rescued from danger) it is of the most beautiful sort of *ἀναγνώρισις*, or remembrance, according to the judgment of this great Critick <sup>31</sup>; because, says he, “it will produce either pity or terror, on the imitation of which the constitution of Tragedy is built:” This remembrance and revolution also arise from the fable and the preceding circumstances with probability; which is another criterion of their excellence according to the same respectable authority <sup>32</sup>: As Ion was preparing to depart for Athens, it was natural that the Priestess should return the casket, which leads to the unravelling of the plot. We come next to the consideration of the characters. Since the chief beauty of this drama consists in the several traits, which adorn its principal figure, I must develop the young Ion in order to prove my former assertion <sup>33</sup>, that it is one of the most religious, virtuous <sup>34</sup>, amiable, and tender characters, which poetry ever combined: This royal foundling *ἄμύτωρ* <sup>35</sup> *ἄπ’ ἄτρω* without father or mother considers himself, as the

<sup>30</sup> This is defined by Aristotle, the transition of things into the contrary extreme, ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολή. (De Poet. c. 11.)

<sup>31</sup> Καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις, ὅταν ἅμα περιπίπτει γίνεσθαι ἢ γὰρ τοιαύτη ἀναγνώρισις, καὶ περιπέτεια, ἢ ἴδιον ἔξει, ἢ φόβον· οἷον πρᾶξιον ἢ τραγῳδία μύησις ὑπάκειναι. (De Poet. c. 11.)

<sup>32</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ δι’ γίνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συστάσεως τῆ μύθου, ὥστε ἐν τῶν προγεννημένων, ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐκὸς γίγνεσθαι ταύτα. (De Poet. c. 10.) Παῶν δὲ βελτίστη ἀναγνώρισις ἢ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων, τῆς ἐκπλήξεως γιγνομένης δι’ ἐκόντων. (Id. c. 16.)

<sup>33</sup> See the Preliminary Essay. (p. 8.)

<sup>34</sup> Among the four different species of tragedy, Aristotle reckons the moral one, ἢ δι’ ἠθικῆς, (De Poet. c. 18.) and Dacier, in his Remark on this passage, illustrates this assertion by the Ion: L’Ion d’Euripide me paroît une Tragedie implexe & morale, (Rem. 5. sur. ch. 10.)

<sup>35</sup> V. 509.

servant of the God <sup>36</sup>; under whose sacred roof having been nurtured and trained he is impressed with the purest sentiments of benevolent gratitude, displaying itself on every occasion, and glowing with the brightest fervour of devotion: He declares his resolution to serve the Votaries of his divine Benefactor <sup>37</sup>; he venerates his unknown Sire Apollo, as his foster-father <sup>38</sup>, and is resolved to be indefatigable in his sacred attention to the duties of the altar <sup>39</sup>; yet notwithstanding the deepest sense of religious principle ingrafted in his soul, his philanthropy is of the most universal nature: He is unwilling to kill any bird, though infesting the consecrated shrine, because they were the prophetick messengers of the will of Gods to Men <sup>40</sup>, in conformity to the received opinion of those times, in which the flight of these animals was revered as ominous;

I would not kill thee,  
 'Twere pity, for to mortal man you bear  
 The message of the Gods.

(Potter, v. 179.)

Though an Attendant on the temple, he is no bigot in religion, when it clashes with morality: He revolts against the idea of injustice, charged by Creusa on Apollo;

Not so; a mortal's baseness he disdains.

(Potter, v. 333.)

He complains of it <sup>41</sup>, and cannot reconcile to his exalted conceptions of the divine nature the infirmity of human

<sup>36</sup> V. 123. 132. & 182.

<sup>38</sup> V. 136 & 138.

<sup>39</sup> V. 135.

<sup>37</sup> V. 111.

<sup>40</sup> V. 180.

<sup>41</sup> V. 356.

crimes,

crimes <sup>42</sup>, nor the punishment of mortal transgressions by divine justice, when the avenging Gods are themselves criminal <sup>43</sup>: He severely censures the toleration of that established practise of protection at the altar, as unwisely contrived to shelter Iniquity, which ought certainly to be banished from it <sup>44</sup>; since the unhallowed Suppliant pollutes it; and the good become thus indiscriminately blended with the bad by the connivance of the Deity <sup>45</sup>: He rejects the attempt of Creusa, when she endeavours to palliate the response of the oracle, with this fine reply,

True is the God, his tripod else were vain.

Potter, v. 1589.

This is one of those noble passages, if we borrow the language of Longinus <sup>46</sup>, “where the naked thought of itself, without words, challenges our admiration from its inherent grandeur.” The resolution of Ion, in every situation, however exalted, is to cultivate virtue <sup>47</sup>; this sacred propensity

<sup>42</sup> V. 437.

<sup>43</sup> V. 443 & 450. An elegant epigram in the Anthologia justifies the amours of Mortals by the example of the Pagan Gods;

Εἴ μοι τις μέμψοιτο, δαίς ὅτι λάτεις ἑρώϊος  
Φοῖβῳ, ἠδ' Ἀφροδίτῃ ἑμμοασιν ἱζὺν ἔχων,  
Εἰδείη καὶ Ζῆνα, καὶ Ἄϊδα, τὸν τε θαλάσσης  
Σκηπτέχον, μαλ' ἔω δέλον ἴοντα πάθων.  
Εἰ δὲ θεοὶ τοιοῦτοι, θεοῖς δ' ἐνέπαιον ἔπεισθαι  
Ἀνθρώπους· τί θίων ἔργα μαθὼν ἀδικῶ;

L. 7. ep. 180.

And this is the plausible argument of Chærea in Terence, when he beheld the picture of Jupiter, descending in a golden shower into the bosom of Danaë;

Ego homuncio hoc non facerem? (Eun. a. 3. f. 5.)

And I, poor mortal man, not do the same! (Colman, Eun. a. 3. f. 6.)

<sup>44</sup> V. 1315.

<sup>45</sup> V. 1319.

<sup>46</sup> Ὅθεν καὶ Φωτῆς δίχα θανυμάζειν αἰ πόλις

φιλή καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἔνοια δι' αὐτὸ τὸ μεγαλόφρον. (De Sub. sect. 9. p. 42. ed. Pearce.)

<sup>47</sup> V. 440.

of inclination naturally throws around his mind the charm of philosophical serenity: When Xuthus embraces him, as his Son, he yields only in obedience to the voice of the God<sup>48</sup>; and though allured by the promise of the King with the flattering expectation of wealth and sovereignty, he balances in his own mind between the external form of elevated grandeur, with all its treacherous appearances<sup>49</sup>, and the internal felicity of his future state at Athens, when thus aggrandized; as obnoxious to the hatred of the inferior<sup>50</sup>, the contempt of the wise<sup>51</sup>, and the jealousy of the superior Citizens of that state<sup>52</sup>: To these he adds the detestation of his supposed step-mother Creusa, as imagined childless<sup>53</sup> herself, and the fatal consequences arising from the malignity of woman under this predicament<sup>54</sup>: Hence the fears of an exalted station present themselves to him<sup>55</sup>, and are opposed to the calm enjoyment of retired life<sup>56</sup>: His reluctance to associate with the wicked, and to desert the good, which is a necessary precaution annexed to a throne, is extremely amiable<sup>57</sup>: He is an enemy of noise<sup>58</sup>, and a lover of tranquillity<sup>59</sup>: He prizes leisure as the greatest blessing<sup>60</sup>, reflects with pleasure on the past employment of his life<sup>61</sup>, and congratulates himself, that both law and nature conspired to render him just<sup>62</sup>: He therefore begs leave to decline the intended honours from Xuthus<sup>63</sup>, and solicits to live in the enjoyment

<sup>48</sup> V. 557.<sup>49</sup> V. 585 & 622.<sup>50</sup> V. 597.<sup>51</sup> V. 600.<sup>52</sup> V. 603.<sup>53</sup> V. 610 & 613.<sup>54</sup> V. 616. 1025 & 1329.<sup>55</sup> V. 624.<sup>56</sup> V. 625.<sup>57</sup> V. 628.<sup>58</sup> V. 630.<sup>59</sup> V. 632.

<sup>60</sup> V. 634. Stiblinus in his note on this line observes, that Socrates asserted that leisure was the most excellent of all possessions, according to that saying, *ἡσυχία καλὴν*. (See Ed. P. Stephens, 1602. vol. i. p. 197.)

<sup>61</sup> V. 638.<sup>62</sup> V. 643.<sup>63</sup> V. 645.

of himself <sup>64</sup>. But compassion, another principal feature in this interesting character, must not be forgot; His tender concern for the melancholy Creusa, before he is apprized of the cause <sup>65</sup>, his anxiety to be informed of her story, his sympathy when he has heard it <sup>66</sup>, but, above all, his lamentation to Xuthus of her childless situation in the midst of his own elevated prosperity <sup>67</sup>, are emanations of the most feeling heart: His affectionate inclination to discover his Mother <sup>68</sup>, which is necessary to compleat his own happiness <sup>69</sup>, and his respect for her person, though absent and unknown, proves the inimitable excellence of Euripides in dramatick pathos. Such is the faint outline of the princely Ion, to whom we may apply that beautiful apostrophe, which the Chorus in the *Athalie* of Racine addresses to Joas, who, in many respects, as will be shewn hereafter, corresponds with Ion;

O bien heureux mille fois  
 L'Enfant, que le Seigneur aime,  
 Qui de bonne heure entend sa voix,  
 Et que ce Dieu daigne instruire lui-meme !  
 Loin du monde élevé, de tous les dons des Cieux  
 Il est orné dès sa naissance ;  
 Et du Mechant l'abord contagieux  
 N'altère point son innocence. (A. 2.)

After this delineation, the Reader will undoubtedly be surpris'd to find, that the epithet assigned by the *Pere Bru-moy* <sup>70</sup> to the character of Ion is vindicatif or revengeful ;

<sup>64</sup> V. 646.  
<sup>65</sup> V. 563.

<sup>65</sup> V. 342.  
<sup>69</sup> V. 670.

<sup>66</sup> V. 307.  
<sup>70</sup> *Tom. v. Ion, p. 130.*

<sup>67</sup> V. 619.



As this opinion must be entirely founded on his conduct in regard to Creusa in the latter part of the play, I should think it ungenerous and unfair, even if the assertion were well warranted, to consider him in a partial point of view from a particular scene, and not from the contemplation of the whole play: But this aspersions of the Critick will be found not to affect the Poet: Creusa had been condemned by the universal suffrage of the Delphick Court, as guilty of intentional murder and sacrilege, to an exemplary punishment: When Ion therefore, the innocent object of her cruel hatred, finds her sheltered at the altar, to the mockery of law, and to the scandal of religion, he exclaims against the enormity of her crime, and the sanction of asylums: The manly spirit of his resentment against a condemned and atrocious object throws a dignity around him, which raises the tragick effect of horror, lest he should sacrifice his unknown Mother to his just indignation: However amiable his former tranquillity appeared, this elevation of passion animates the action of the drama with great success: But with what humanity is he instantly softened<sup>71</sup>, when by means of the tokens he discovers the Parent in the Murderer! and with what tender softness does he caution her against any imposition on Apollo to cover her own disgrace<sup>72</sup>! But if this criticism of the Pere Brumoy, reflecting on the character of Ion, were well founded, it would not constitute a dramattick blemish; for Aristotle<sup>73</sup> admirably observes, “that the man of the first degree of virtue or vice is not so much the proper object of Tragedy, as the mixed character between the two extremes:”

<sup>71</sup> V. 1438.<sup>72</sup> V. 1527.<sup>73</sup> Ο μεταξὺ ἄρα τῶν ἁλίστων ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος, ὁ μὲν ἀρετῇ διαφέρει καὶ δικαιοσύνη. (De Poet. c. 13.)

But

But Dacier <sup>74</sup> in his remarks on this chapter of the Poeticks of Aristotle mentions among other plays of Euripides the *Ion*, as an exception to the established rule of this great Critick in this respect; so that his opinion was directly contrary to that of Brumoy: And in another place Dacier <sup>75</sup> observes, “that what remarkably characterizes the tragick spirit of Euripides is, that in most of those pieces, whose catastrophe is happy, he fails not to excite terror and compassion, and one may say, that the constitution of them is tragical.” If there be any defect in this accomplished character, it may perhaps be an extent of knowledge in the young *Ion* beyond his years; though educated in the Delphick Temple, he knows every anecdote, relating to the family of Erichthonius and Erechtheus, as appears from his conversation with Creusa; and even the serpents, the gift of Pallas, had not escaped his notice <sup>76</sup>: But by this artifice Euripides flatters the vanity of his countrymen, the Athenians, whose history he thus represents, universally known through all Græce;

<sup>74</sup> C'est une marque incontestable, que la Tragedie, qui imite l'action d'un homme, qui est ny bon ny méchant, ou qui est moins méchant que bon, est la plus parfaite & la plus belle. Il est certain qu' Eschyle Sophocle & Euripide mettoient sur la scene toutes sortes d'aventures indifferemment. Nous avons encore dans Eschyle les *Perles* & les *Suppliantes*, qui ne sont point dans l'idée qu' Aristote donne ici; nous avons dans Sophocle le *Philoctète*; & dans Euripide l'*Alceste*, les *Suppliantes*, le *Rhesus*, les *Bacchantes*, les *Heraclides*, l'*Helene*, & l'*Ion*, sans compter toutes les autres pieces de ces trois Poetes que nous avons perdues, & dont les noms seuls, qui nous restent, marquent assez que la plupart étoient fort éloignées de cette perfection qu' Aristote cherchoit. (Rem. 16. sur le Chap. 13. p. 198.)

<sup>75</sup> Mais ce qui marque extrêmement l'esprit tragique d' Euripide, c'est que dans la plupart de ces dernières pieces, dont la fin est heureuse, il ne laisse pas d'exciter la terreur & la compassion, & l'on peut dire que la constitution en est tragique. (Rem. 24. sur le chap. 13. de la Poet. d'Arist.)

<sup>76</sup> V. 1428. See my note on that passage, and my annotation on the Greek text of (V. 271.)

and it must be confessed, that the employment of Ion is almost a vindication ; for he may be supposed to have gathered his intelligence in regard to this illustrious family from his conversation with the Votaries of the God, whose Oracle, as the resort of all strangers, may be considered as the centre of information : But he appears in his discourse to Xuthus to have been well versed in the laws of Athens <sup>77</sup>, and in the policy of civil government ; on the subject of which he discourses like an experienced Senator <sup>78</sup>, whose principles are very enlightened ; and had he been disciplined in the moral school of Socrates, instead of sweeping the shrine of Apollo, his philosophy could scarcely have been more chastened, or his sentiments more sublime <sup>79</sup> : If therefore we do not attribute this superior knowledge of Ion to the particular inspiration of his divine Father, there will appear a little violation of that excellent precept of Aristotle <sup>80</sup> and of Horace <sup>81</sup>, which prescribes to each age its particular manners. If we pass to the character of Creusa, in the contemplation of this Queen of Athens, we must first divest ourselves of that natural antipathy, which the more refined system of cultivated society, in the present æra of mankind, will inevitably raise against her : The Mother of an Infant, exposed by her own hand, could no more be tolerated on a modern theatre of enlightened Europeans, than the mistress of an Heathen God :

<sup>77</sup> V. 592.

<sup>78</sup> V. 595.

<sup>79</sup> V. 645.

<sup>80</sup> Δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἀσπρότητα. (De Poet. c. 15.) Faire les mœurs convenables, says Dacier in his note on this passage, c'est donner à chaque personnage ce qui lui convient, le faire agir & parler selon son âge, son état, & sa condition.

<sup>81</sup> *Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores.* De Art. Poet. v. 156.

*Semper in adjunctis, ævoque morabimur aptis.* Id. v. 178.

If our Religion instantly disdained the one, our Humanity would recoil against the other with equal violence : It might perhaps be owing to this cause, that Dacier <sup>82</sup> on Aristotle asserts, that the subject of the Ion would by no means succeed at present. But the Ancient Poets are not to be condemned by the tribunal of modern Opinion ; for the actions of men in every age ought to be tried by the impartial standard of their contemporary laws and customs. According to the Pagan creed of gallantry, Creusa was forced by the God Apollo : Her fault was therefore involuntary, as the effect of necessity ; nor was the subsequent exposure of her Infant, who, she had reason to flatter herself, would be preserved by his immortal Father, so uncommon an act in those days, as to excite that horror, which nature, unbiassed by example, would inspire : Notwithstanding this objection to a modern Reader, the art of Euripides is wonderful, who has contrived to paint Creusa often amiable even to him : This magick effect is produced by the delicate strokes of his commanding pathos : On her first arrival at Delphi she drops a tear <sup>83</sup> ; and when Ion tells her of his orphan situation, that he never knew his Mother, she feels the natural pang of sympathy ;

Wretched, whoe'er she be, is she that bore thee."

(V. 316.)

But the yearnings of nature for her own lost Infant are still even more interesting : When she relates the fatal story of

<sup>82</sup> Le sujet n'est point d'ailleurs entierement conforme aux regles d'Aristote, & ne reussiroit nullement aujourd'hui. (Rem. 6. sur le Chap. 15. de la Poet. d'Arist. p. 222. ed. 1692.)

<sup>83</sup> V. 246.

her misfortunes, the imagination of the Parent recoils at the idea of her exposed babe, now pictured before her ;

Hadst thou but seen him stretch his little hands.

(V. 961.)

And when the Tutor demands,

Seeking thy breast, or reaching to thy arms ?

(V. 962.)

Her reply in the original Greek <sup>84</sup> has an uncommon effect; for she points to her bosom, and in one word says, "Here:" Every Reader must feel for himself the charming effect of this expressive and natural simplicity, and subscribe to the opinion of Dacier<sup>85</sup>; "*Personne ne connoit mieux qu' Euripide le chemin du cœur, & ne place plus à propos les paroles tendres & affectueuses qui peuvent arracher les larmes aux plus endurcis.*" We next proceed to the consideration of the character of the Chorus, which will best be contemplated by a review of the Choral songs: These breathe a spirit of the most animated Lyrick Poetry; and have all the propriety of a close connexion with the immediate subject of the drama; from the circumstances of which, united with the situation of the speaker, they spring: I will examine them in their order. As the cause of the visit of Xuthus and Creusa to the Delphick oracle was the misfortune of her barrenness, the Chorus, who are Athenian women, and the female Attendants of their Queen, naturally invoke in their first song the Heathen Goddess, who presided over parturition <sup>86</sup>, and their

<sup>84</sup> V. 963.

<sup>85</sup> V. 452.

<sup>86</sup> Rem. 28. sur le Chap. 13. de la Poet. d'Arist.

matelary Minerva<sup>87</sup>, that they would conspire to bless their royal Sovereigns with issue<sup>88</sup>: Hence by an easy and beautiful transition they extol the happiness of the married state,

When round the Father's hearth a race  
In blooming lustre springs.

(V. 475)

The comforts arising from a numerous offspring to those in prosperity, the security in adversity both to their Parents and their Country, and the delightful amusement of training the infant-mind in the path of education are painted in this moral picture in very lively colours. Every Reader must here recollect the Psalmist<sup>89</sup>; "Lo, children are an heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb are his reward. As arrows are in the hands of a mighty man, so are children of the youth: Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them; they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate:" But among the fragments of our Poet's Danae some charming lines on this interesting subject are preserved, which I humbly submit to the Reader translated in imitation of the stile of Milton;

"Γύναι φίλον μὲν φέγγος ἡλίας τόδε  
"Καλὸν δὲ πόνησ' χεῦμ' ἰδεῖν εὐήμεμον,  
"Γῆ τ' ἡρινὸν θάλλεσσα, πλάσσιον θ' ὕδωρ,  
"Πόλλων τ' ἔπαινον ἐς μοὶ λέξαι καλῶν.  
"Ἀλλ' ἔδεν ἔττω λαμπρὸν, ἔδ' ἰδεῖν καλόν,  
"Ὡς τοῖς ἄπαισι καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις  
"Παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν Φαίδος."

V. 120. ed. Barnes, p. 443.

<sup>87</sup> V. 453.

<sup>88</sup> V. 470.

<sup>89</sup> Psalm 127. v. 3, 4, 5.

Sweet is the lovely blush of orient morn,  
 And the smooth surface of the blue serene  
 In ocean's mirror; sweet the fragrant earth  
 Array'd in vernal bloom, pleasant the stream  
 Rolling its grateful tide after soft showers,  
 And other visions the gay Muse could dream;  
 But neither orient morn, "when she ascends  
 With charm of earliest dawn," nor blue serene  
 On the unruffled forehead of the deep,  
 Nor vernal earth, nor river's swelling pride,  
 Nor all those visions the gay Muse could dream,  
 So sweetly ravish the delighted eye,  
 Or bathe the soul in bliss so exquisite,  
 As the far-beaming light from infant heir  
 To the fond Parent, whose soft yearning heart  
 Full many a day has pined in deep despair.

But to return to the subject of the Choral Song: Hence the Chorus by a delicate connexion of ideas passes from this scene of connubial felicity to the contrast of those miseries, proceeding from an illicit embrace; of which the exposure of wretched Infants, a prey to birds and beasts of famine, is the fatal consequence<sup>90</sup>; Thus they condemn the intercourse of Gods with mortal Women, as History and Fame conspired to prove the uniform unhappiness of such connexions<sup>91</sup>: This is the latent union in the train of ideas of the Epode with the Strophe and Antistrophe, and which is by no means obvious at first sight. The second Choral song follows the acknowledgment of Ion by Xuthus, as his Son; and, as this

<sup>90</sup> V. 505.<sup>91</sup> V. 509.

discovery was made in the presence of the Chorus, he enjoins profound secrecy of it under penalty of death<sup>91</sup>: This was an event, apparently fatal to the interest of their beloved and native Queen Creusa, to whom, from principles of duty and patriotism, they are most affectionately attached<sup>92</sup>: Hence they anticipate her future sorrows, arising from the felicity of her husband<sup>93</sup>, compared with her own childless situation<sup>94</sup>; and are naturally tempted, from the circumstances attending the young Ion<sup>95</sup> and the obscurity of the oracle, to suspect a fraud<sup>96</sup>, as a specious contrivance of Xuthus and this Minister of the temple<sup>97</sup>: Fired at the idea of this imposition<sup>98</sup>, and the ingratitude of the King to their royal Mistress, they embrace the bold design of revealing to her the secret<sup>99</sup>, and imprecate divine vengeance against the Authors of this base stratagem<sup>100</sup>: They also profess the utmost veneration at the same time for the honours and ancient

<sup>91</sup> V. 667.<sup>92</sup> V. 567. 648. & 858.<sup>93</sup> V. 679.<sup>94</sup> V. 686.<sup>95</sup> V. 683.<sup>96</sup> V. 686.<sup>97</sup> V. 692.

<sup>98</sup> This supposition by the Chorus of a fraud in the Delphick Oracle is curiously illustrated by the following observation of Fontenelle in his *Histoire des Oracles* (c. 7.) "If (says he) in the middle of Græce, which re-echoed on all sides with oracles, we had asserted they were nothing but Impostors, we should not have astonished any one with the boldness of the proposition; nor should we have had any occasion to take any steps to advance it with secrecy: He then adds, that the Philosophers of Græce were divided in their opinions in regard to the Oracles: The Platonists and Stoicks supported them; but the Cynicks, the Peripateticks, and the Epicureans openly ridiculed them." This observation is of great importance to palliate at least, if not to justify, the suspicion of the Chorus: And if Demosthenes in the Senate of Athens could accuse the Pythian Priests with the charge of φαρμακεία, of being corrupted with the gold of Philip of Macedon, why might not the Athenian Women in this play venture without much impiety to suspect an oracular fraud under the very suspicious circumstances of the case? Demosthenes quidem, qui abhinc annos ccc prope fuit, jam tum φαρμακεία Pythiam dicebat, id est, quasi cum Philippo facere; hoc autem eo spectabat ut eam a Philippo corruptam diceret. (Cicero de Divin. l. ii. c. 57, f. 118.)

<sup>99</sup> V. 695.<sup>100</sup> V. 704.



line of Erechtheus<sup>1</sup>: But an objection may arise against this resolution of the Chorus to reveal the secret, and the actual discovery of it in the following scene to Creusa: Is not this a direct violation of that dramatick rule prescribed by Horace, commanding a sacred taciturnity in the observance of secrets, as an ingredient in the character of the Chorus?

Ille tegat commissa. (Ars. Poet. v. 200.)

Since the Constitution of the Græcian drama had the Chorus interwoven in its texture, and demanded the presence of Spectators and Actors, united together on the Stage, there is great wisdom implied in this essential quality annexed to them by the Roman Poet: Without this degree of confidence, attached to them by the Persons of the Play, they would have been considered as Spies, before whom common prudence would have dictated a reserve, inconsistent with the freedom of the Poet in the management of his plot: Thus they would have fettered the fable of the Ancients, as much as they would now do the imagination of the Moderns: Let us therefore consider, what can be said for Euripides in this instance, without attempting to infringe the established propriety of the general rule: These Women were the Companions of their Queen, the *κέρκυρας δάδευμαι πρὸς*<sup>2</sup>, employed in her palace in all female tasks, and addressed under the appellation of slaves<sup>3</sup>; Their attachment was of the most cordial quality<sup>4</sup>, which they openly profess in the presence of Xuthus<sup>5</sup>; so that he could scarcely conceive a possibility

<sup>1</sup> V. 723.

<sup>4</sup> V. 858.

<sup>2</sup> V. 718.

<sup>3</sup> V. 567 & 649.

<sup>5</sup> V. 983 & 1109.

of their silence: And their magnanimity in contempt of death, which they declare they would twice suffer sooner than not disclose the secret <sup>6</sup>, founded, as they imagine, on a fraud, and fatal to the family of their own Queen <sup>7</sup>, breaths a spirit of ancient heroism: Their silence therefore in a patriotick view might have been considered as criminal by Athenian Spectators: But the real cause of their violation of taciturnity is undoubtedly the great advantage, which the Poet hence derived in the conduct of his plot; for it was necessary that Creusa should have been informed of the voice of the oracle, as the drama turns upon this point; and what instrument was there of conveyance so proper and natural as that of the female Chorus? Their third Choral song, which follows the discovery and the consequent design of Creusa to poison Ion at the banquet, contains an invocation to Hecate for the success of it <sup>8</sup>, and an assertion, that, if the present attempt fail, future stratagems of death would certainly be planned against this Intruder <sup>9</sup>; as such an usurpation on the ancient rights of her family, could never be suffered by the Queen <sup>10</sup>: The next Strophe by an awful appeal to several powers <sup>11</sup> paints the ignominy, which Athens would endure, if this,

Ὁ Φοῖβεος ἀλκίτας. (V. 1089.)

This Delphick Vagrant hope to seize the throne.

(V. 1118.)

After this the Antistrophe, in a vein of refined sarcasm, exclaims to the Bards, who, as Men, had often sung the illicit amours of women <sup>12</sup>, to invert their poetical strains <sup>13</sup>, and

<sup>6</sup> V. 760.

<sup>10</sup> V. 1073.

<sup>7</sup> V. 1057.

<sup>11</sup> V. 1074.

<sup>8</sup> V. 1048.

<sup>12</sup> V. 1092.

<sup>9</sup> V. 1064.

<sup>13</sup> V. 1097.

to paint their own vices with a palinodia or <sup>14</sup> recantation <sup>15</sup>, since the royal Xuthus had been guilty of the basest inattention and infidelity to Creusa <sup>16</sup>, and had thus produced a spurious son <sup>17</sup>: It is remarkable in this last declaration, how the female Chorus, either through the oversight or artifice of the Poet, asserts a deliberate falshood; for Xuthus had in their presence solemnly declared to Ion, that he must have begot him during the orgies of Bacchus in a frolick of youth <sup>18</sup>; and to the direct question, whether it was since his marriage with the daughter of Erechtheus <sup>19</sup>, he replies, that since that event he has never had any unlawful connexion <sup>20</sup>: None of the Commentators have remarked this palpable disregard of truth. But the Chorus here deserves to be condemned for a crime of a much deeper die; from the heavy imputation of which no Apologist of humanity can pretend to rescue them. Instead of giving moral advice in the spirit of that excellent rule prescribed for their dramatick conduct;

Ille bonis faveatque & consilietur amicè,  
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.

Hor. Ars Poet. (V. 197.)

They have rendered themselves the criminal associates of their guilty Queen in her intended murder of the innocent

<sup>14</sup> Thus the female Chorus in Medea;  
To merit just the vocal Muse  
Shall change her ancient vein;  
Nor faithless woman more accuse  
In ev'ry taunting strain.

(Potter, v. 455.)

<sup>15</sup> V. 1096.

<sup>16</sup> V. 1102.

<sup>17</sup> V. 1105.

<sup>18</sup> V. 544.

<sup>19</sup> V. 546.

<sup>20</sup> Id.

Ion;

Ion; and have not only given a sanction by their silent knowledge to the wilful act of poison, which in their situation, as slaves, to have concealed would have admitted a softening alleviation, but have solemnly invoked the infernal Proserpine to aid the hellish design: They therefore consider themselves as involved in the same cause and fate with Creusa<sup>21</sup>, and when informed of the consequences arising from the discovery of the plot, they stand self-condemned, and acknowledge the justice of the sentence decreed by the tribunal of Delphi: There is some truth therefore in the observation of the Pere Brumoy<sup>22</sup>, that the Chorus is *peu vertueux*. The other characters of Xuthus and the Tutor require but little consideration: The former is amiable, and shews a tenderness for Creusa in the concealment of Ion<sup>23</sup>: The other is an old Villain of the most abandoned principles; he advises<sup>24</sup> his royal Mistress to murder her Husband<sup>25</sup>, to fire the temple of Delphi<sup>26</sup>, and to kill Ion<sup>27</sup>: Had the Poet executed poetical justice on him, when detected in the mainour, ἐπ' ἀνισφώρῳ<sup>28</sup>, Humanity would have rejoiced at the sacrifice. The sentiments, by which the Characters in poetry are displayed, are so closely connected together with them, that they are mutually illustrated; so that several beauties, and some few defects, already mentioned, may be applied to this

<sup>21</sup> V. 1114.<sup>22</sup> V. 1249.<sup>23</sup> Tom. v. Ion, p. 130.

<sup>24</sup> It is worthy of observation, that Creusa and the Tutor converse with each other in verses, consisting each of one line alternately, from (V. 938 to 1028) in the original, and from (V. 970 to 1060) in the Translation, which is no less in both than 90 lines of continued dialogue in a uniformity of metre. No modern theatre would admit a conversation on the stage so circumstanced, and it would be curious to trace, whether the latent cause of this remarkable difference springs from modern manners or modern languages compared with those of the Ancients.

<sup>25</sup> V. 845.<sup>26</sup> V. 974.<sup>27</sup> V. 1026<sup>28</sup> V. 1214.

title. But there remains an objection still unnoticed, which is the equivocation of our Author in regard to the expression of the Oracle: Mercury, in the Prologus, uses the word *πεφυκέναι* <sup>29</sup>, which implies, that Apollo will inform Xuthus, that Ion was begot by him; and thus the King repeats the same word, as the voice of the Oracle <sup>30</sup>; and when Ion expressly asks him,

Σὸν γέγωτ' ἢ δῶρον ἄλλω; (V. 537.)

Born so, or by some other  
Presented? (V. 547.)

Xuthus immediately replies,

Δῶρον ὄντα σ' ἐξ' ἐμῆ. (V. 437.)

Tho' a present, born my son. (V. 547.)

Thus Ion, understanding it, asks of Creusa, how Apollo could give his own son to Xuthus, and solemnly declare that he was begot by the latter <sup>31</sup>? Upon this she flatly denies the expression of *πεφυκέναι*. (V. 1534.)

Not born the son of Xuthus; but he gives thee  
Born of himself. (V. 1588.)

Still this evasion in the mouth of the Queen may be justified, and especially, as the religious Ion rejects the sophistry of it with such a noble disdain <sup>32</sup>: But what shall we say to the Goddess Minerva, who, at the desire of the God, contradicts the obvious meaning of the oracular words; and declares to Ion, that Apollo gave him to Xuthus ἔφύλασσι σέ, (V. 1561.)

Not as the Author of thy being. (V. 1614.)

<sup>29</sup> V. 70.

<sup>30</sup> V. 536.

<sup>31</sup> V. 1533.

<sup>32</sup> V. 1537.

And

And she even adds a sanction to the fraud of the Oracle by commanding Creusa to guard the secret, that Xuthus may continue pleased in his error <sup>33</sup>: Après tout, says the Pere Brumoy <sup>34</sup>, Apollon est seducteur, Minerve entremetteuse, & Xuthus duppe: It must be owned there is truth, as well as humour in this French observation: Our Poet might easily have contrived a set of words in conformity to the obliquity of the Loxias Apollo <sup>35</sup>, which would have involved a double meaning: This would have saved the reputation of the God, and preserved the morality of the Drama: Euripides himself seems to be conscious of this latent defect, for he makes Minerva declare, that it was the intention of Apollo to reveal the truth at Athens <sup>36</sup>. Another objection in point of sentiment is the sanction of this Goddess to the conduct of the amorous God;

“Well hath Apollo quitted him in all.”

(V. 1648.)

Is this a declaration, which ought to flow from the mouth of the sage and chaste Minerva, and would an Athenian Theatre be edified by this divine lesson? The Apothegm of the Chorus, which concludes the Play, is also too general, for it does not spring from the Drama itself: Is not Creusa,

<sup>33</sup> V. 1602.

<sup>34</sup> Tom. 5. Ion, p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Ægeus in our Author's *Medea* expressly says, that the God answered to him,

Words of dark import and inexplicable.

(Potter, v. 734.)

We have an instance of the metaphorical darkness of the oracle in the *Phœnissæ*. (V. 414.) See also Cicero de *Divin.* l. 2. c. 56. s. 115. and the Preliminary Essay on the *Ion*, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> V. 1567.

who consented to poison Ion, rendered happy by the event? and yet the general assertion is, that the wicked are never prosperous. The last head of my critical discussion is the language. It is extremely hazardous for a Modern Critick to venture a single objection against the diction of an ancient Poet, whose stile is so pure, elegant, and chaste, as that of our Author. In every Language there are little niceties, which none but natives can ever feel; and the utmost diffidence ought always to be used, when the adventurous stranger dares to launch into this dangerous sea of Criticism: The latent imperceptible rocks are continually under him, and every moment he is liable to be shipwrecked on error: The only compass, which can here guide him, is Common Reason, deriving her authority from the knowledge of things, of which the words of all languages are only symbols. Where a Poet departs from the simple diction of prose, and soars into the elevated region of poetry, he is obliged to borrow similes and metaphors<sup>37</sup> in order to embellish his subject: But in the combination of these adorning<sup>38</sup> figures he is not to indulge the romantick flight of a wild imagination, ungoverned and unrestrained by any laws: I will analyze a bold expression in this play, and try if it can bear the test. The Chorus addresses the river Cephissus under the appellation of

ὦ Νταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κεφίσσε. (V. 1261.)

<sup>37</sup> The most excellent of all figures, according to a fine observation of Aristotle, is the metaphor; for it is impossible to receive this alone from another, and it is the mark of a noble genius; since to succeed in metaphor is to discern the resemblances of things: Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τὸ μεταφορικὸν εἶναι· μόνον γὰρ τὰτο οὕτε παρ' ἄλλε ἐν λαθεῖν, εὐφυΐας τε σημεῖον ἐστὶ· τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν, τὸ ὁμοίον διαρίν ἐστι. (De Poet. c. 22.)

<sup>38</sup> Enim verò jam majore curâ doceat tropos omnes, quibus præcipuè non poema modo, sed etiam oratio ornatur. (Quint. Inst. Orat. l. 1. c. 8.)

Here

Here the ὄμμα, or eye, applied to a river, personifies it by a metaphor, extremely common among the Greeks; and so far there is no objection: But then the epithet ταυρόμορφον introduces another metaphor, incompatible with the former; for how is it possible to justify,

“O thou eye of Cephissus resembling the form of a Bull.”

The Tauriformis Aufidus of Horace<sup>39</sup> literally corresponds with this expression of Euripides, without introducing that false assemblage of ideas, which I here condemn: And the absurd confusion, arising from this mixed metaphor, may fairly be illustrated by the ποδώκες ὄμμα, or the swift-footed eye of Æschylus<sup>40</sup>, and by the following instance from Milton;

What heart of rock could long  
Dry-ey'd behold? (Par. Lost. B. II. v. 495.)

There is one more expression in the play, which for a different reason I shall venture to condemn. When Ion finds Creusa after the Delphick sentence passed upon her, he orders her to be arrested, that she may be darted down Parnassus by a leap from the rock, like a quoit;

“Ὅθεν πείραιον ἄλμα διακυθήσεται. (V. 1268.)

Or as softened by the Translator,

As down the craggy precipice she bounds. (V. 1314.)

Now here I conceive there is an insulting and comick levity, inconsistent with the dignity of the Tragick Muse: It reminds me of that witticism in Milton, where Satan ludicrously exclaims to his mates, that the angels

Into strange vagaries fell,

As they would dance. (Par. Lost, B. VI. V. 615.)

<sup>39</sup> L. 4. Od. 14. V. 25.

<sup>40</sup> Sep. Cont. Theb. V. 629.



This Addison <sup>41</sup> has justly condemned, as the most exceptionable passage in the whole poem. Having now concluded my observations on the Plot, Characters, Sentiments, and Language of the Ion, it remains only to mention in this Essay, according to my proposed plan, those plays composed on the same subject for the Græcian, Roman, or Modern European Theatres. “The subjects for Tragedies, says Aristotle <sup>42</sup>, are not numerous; for the Poets deriving them not from Art, but from Fortune, discovered such events, as were adapted to their fables; and therefore they are obliged to have recourse to those families, in which such events happened.” Here Dacier <sup>43</sup> remarks, “that all the dramatick pieces of the poets were either drawn from history or Græcian fables; which proves that Euripides did not invent the subject of his Iphigenia in Tauris, nor that of his Helena, and Ion; for Aristotle would not then have failed to have complimented the Poet in this respect:” Though this observation is true in general, yet the inference is rather hazarded; for it does not appear, that Euripides actually borrowed the whole Plot of the Ion from any historical record now extant, or from any Dramatick Predecessor: We may collect however from Hesychius <sup>44</sup> and Stobæus <sup>45</sup>, that his Contemporary Sophocles also composed a play on this title; and Athenæus <sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Spect. N<sup>o</sup> 279.

<sup>42</sup> Οὐ πρὶ πολλὰ γίνεαι τραγῳδίας ἰστοῖ· φιλοῦσι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ τέχνης, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τύχης, εὖρον τὸ τοῖστον παρασκευάζειν ἐν τοῖς μύθοις· ἀναγκάσειας ἐν ἑαυτὰς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπαρτάν, ὅσαις τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβέβηκε πάθῃ. (De Poet. c. 14.)

<sup>43</sup> Toutes leurs piéces étoient tirées, ou de l’Histoire ou des Fables Grecques, ce qui prouve qu’ Euripide n’avoit pas inventé le sujet de son Iphigenie Taurique ni celui de son Helene & de son Ion, car Aristote n’auroit pas manqué d’en faire honneur à ce Poete. (Rem. 27. sur le chap. 15. de Poet. d’Arist. p. 239. ed. 1692.)

<sup>44</sup> Vox χρισίου.

<sup>45</sup> Sermon. 52 & 101. See also Meursius Sophoc. p. 58.

<sup>46</sup> L. 10. c. 4. p. 417.

mentions two lines of a comedy of Eubulus of the name of Ion; but this I apprehend had no correspondence with the subject of the Tragedians. Scriverius in his <sup>47</sup> *Collectanea Veterum Tragicorum* has inserted four lines, as belonging to the Ion of Accius; but it seems to me very dubious, whether he is not mistaken in the title; for the second of these four lines occurs in Macrobius <sup>48</sup>, where it is referred to the Minotaur of Accius: I have not been able to discover, that any other Roman Dramatick Author adopted this subject: Nor is there any complete tragedy on the French stage, which can properly be said to be derived from this Ion of Euripides: The character of Joas in the *Athalie* of Racine has before been mentioned <sup>49</sup>, as bearing a strong resemblance to the royal Foundling of Athens: Both are Princes of the last surviving branch of the most illustrious families; the one of Judah, and the other of Erechtheus: Both in their infancy were rescued from death by a Priestess, the one by the Delphick Pythia, the other by the Jewish Jehosheba <sup>50</sup>: Both received their religious education in the vicinity of the temple, and were employed in their attendance on the sacred ceremonies: Both at last discovered their original parentage; and both were elevated to the dignity <sup>51</sup> of their respective Ancestors: But the Ion of Euripides, in point of dramatick composition, is as far superior to the Joas of Racine, as the *Athalie* of the latter to the *Creusa* of the former: Since the principal characters differ, they cannot be compared together, and one play is the chef d'œuvre of the French Stage, while the other

<sup>47</sup> P. 122. ed. 1620.

<sup>49</sup> See page 227.

Chron. b. 2. c. 22. v. 11 & 12.

<sup>48</sup> Saturn. l. 6. c. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Kings, b. 2. c. 11. v. 2 & 3.

<sup>51</sup> But Ion never actually mounted the throne of Atica, as proved in my Note on (V. 1572.)

is far from claiming the point of perfection among the Greeks. On the Italian Theatre Apostolo Zeno <sup>52</sup> has written an opera of Gioas, consisting of two parts: and Metastasio has also composed another opera of this title of Gioas, *Rè di Giuda*; in which Sebia the Mother of the young Prince is introduced, and an interesting scene passes between the Parent and the Son, when unknown to each other, as in Euripides <sup>53</sup>. But there is an English Tragedy, expressly written on the foundation of the Ion of Euripides, by Mr. Whitehead the present Poet Laureat: This was first acted in the year 1754, and is intitled *Creusa, Queen of Athens*: The Modern Poet has been forced to alter the story, and to arrange the plot very differently from the original: In order to comply with the delicacy of manners in this refined æra, which would scarcely admit the character of a violated Princess, he has introduced Nicander the first husband of his Heroine: To avoid the resentment of her Father Erechtheus he flies with her infant child to Delphi; and there, assuming the name of Aletes, he educates the young Ion under the title of Ilyffus: But having dropped in his passage a bloody garment to circulate the report of his own murder, Creusa, concluding him dead, marries Xuthus, and not having children by him comes to consult the Oracle: Here the story proceeds with little variation from the original; for Ilyffus being declared by the Pythia at the suggestion of Aletes heir to the crown of Athens, Creusa is persuaded by an old Athenian Phorbas to poison him at the banquet: Before this event can take place, Aletes discovers himself to Creusa, as Nicander, and also informs her, that Ilyffus is

<sup>52</sup> (*Poesie sacre Drammat. Ed. Venez. 1735. p. 191.*) <sup>53</sup> See N<sup>o</sup> 21. p. 110.

Ion : Upon this intelligence she flies immediately to rescue him ; and having obtained the oath of Xuthus, that Ilyffus should be king of Athens, she swallows herself the poison, conceiving death the only refuge in her situation : Aletes, rushing to the rescue of Xuthus and Ilyffus, attempted to be killed by Phorbas, is mortally wounded and dies on the stage. Such is the outline of the English Play, which has refined with judgement in some parts on the original, and in others departed from it at the expense of dramattick effect : The interest, which Creusa, struck with the features of the young Ilyffus, at first feels, is well imagined, and the animated Character of the patriotick Phorbas is far beyond that cold Assassin the Tutor : But the fine accidental discovery of the Son by his Mother in the Græcian Poet is sunk into the voluntary declaration of the Husband in our English Author : And where is the meditated revenge of Ion, the flight of Creusa to the altar, and her abrupt departure from it ? Instead of them, the unnatural poison of the Queen by herself and the tragical death of the innocent Nicander, killed by an accidental engagement, which the Spectator only knows by narration, are substituted : It must be confessed however, that the catastrophe was very difficult to be managed, occasioned by the circumstance of introducing the character of the first wedded partner of Creusa ; for how could this Lady, in the singular predicament of beholding two living husbands at once, be suffered on the stage without dying to save her decorum ? But Aletes, her first lover, falls by a poetical sacrifice, lest the catastrophe should be too tragical, if Creusa, who had two husbands when living, should not have the consolation

of one to accompany her to the regions of the dead; *ne τραυλιώτερον fieret Philumenam spretam relinquere sine sponso* <sup>54</sup>. Notwithstanding these blemishes the Play abounds with many natural sentiments and an elegant flow of language, which will amply recompense the Reader for the pleasure of the perusal, though the Spectator would require something more natural in its representation.

<sup>54</sup> These are the words of Donatus on Terence, where he observes, that the Roman Poet added the Character of Charinus in the *Andria*, which was not in the original of Menander. (A. 2. f. 1. p. 38. ed. 1536.)

## ANNOTATIONS on the GREEK TEXT.

Verse 41. Ἀνιππεύουλος.

THE Poët under the imagery of this word paints the Sun riding in his chariot, and performing his diurnal revolution: As the expression in regard to time is indefinite, it may equally relate to the early rising of the Sun, and to the elevation in his meridian altitude: Dr. Musgrave is therefore mistaken in referring it to the latter, rather than the former, and in supposing that any amendment is necessary: Brodæus explains it, Sole in orbe cursum suum conficiente, ac hemisphærium nostrum ascendente. (In. Eurip. Annot. p. 100.)

Verse 83. Ἥλιος ἤδη λάμπει.

The construction, says Heath<sup>1</sup>, requires us to read ἥλιος: I see no necessity for it, for if λάμπει may not be used in an active sense, as explained by Brodæus<sup>2</sup>, Facit ut currus ejus fulgeat, I would point the first line with a comma, and render the version of the passage in the following manner;

Ecce currus splendidi quadrigarum,  
Jam sol fulget per terram.

<sup>1</sup> Not. in Trag. Græc. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Id. p. 101.

Verse                    Ἡμέραν  
88. Ἀψίδα.

The ἀψίδες are defined by Hesychius τὰ κύκλοι τῶν τροχῶν, or the circumference of the wheels: And ἀψίδα is here used by Euripides to express the circular orb of the sun's chariot: Thus in his Hippolytus he says,

Ἀψίδα πέτρῳ προσβάλλον ὀχήματος. (V. 1233.)

And in a fragment of our Poet, preserved by Longinus<sup>1</sup>, Apollo in his address to Phaeton applies it to his chariot as here, Ἀψίδα σὴν κάτω δήσει. In regard to the word ἡμέραν Reiske<sup>2</sup> interprets it as an adjective, mortalibus cupitum, instead of the substantive ἡμέραν diem: This sense will save the necessity of those emendations, mentioned both in the Notes of Barnes and Musgrave.

Verse 90. Πέταται.

Here Dr. Musgrave, calling πέτασαι a word of no authority, proposes to alter it into πέτεται; but I find the former word in a similar sense of volat, twice used by Aristophanes in his Birds<sup>3</sup>: It also occurs in the Anthologia<sup>4</sup>,

Ἡμῖν δ' ἐπέταται τὸ τοῦ παιδαρίου.

And it is regularly derived from πέταμαι, which is to be found in the Lexicon of H. Stephens. (Vol. I. p. 1723.)

<sup>1</sup> De Subl. sect. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Aves. V. 574 & 575.

<sup>2</sup> Animad. ad Eurip. p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1. c. 7.

Verse

Verse 98. Στόμαί τ' ἔυφημον.

The solemnity of this expression among the Greeks, corresponds to the favete linguis among the Romans: It implies a sacred regard in the language of Antient Devotion: The Græcians were remarkably attentive to this important circumstance, that no inauspicious ill-omened word should escape the unguarded lips of the votary on any solemn act: Thus Callimachus awfully proclaims in his hymn to Apollo,

Εὐφημεῖτ' αἰόντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος αἰοιδῇ. (V. 17.)

And when Horace assumes the majestick character of the consecrated Priest of the Muses, he exclaims

Favete linguis. (Carm. l. 3. Od. 1. v. 2.)

But the following passage from Cicero is the best illustration of this subject; Neque solum deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant omina; quæ majores nostri, quia valere censebant, idcirco omnibus rebus agendis, *Quod bonum, faustum, felix, fortunatumque esset*, præfabantur: rebusque divinis, quæ publicè fierent, ut *faverent linguis* imperabatur. De Divin. l. 1. c. 45. f. 102,

Thus Ovid,

Linguis animisque favete,

Nunc dicenda bono sunt bona verba die.

See also my Note on (V. 1189.) and the Bacchæ of our Poet. (V. 70.)

Verse





## Verse 101. Ἰδίας.

Instead of this word Dr. Musgrave conjectures, that we ought to read ἰδίας propitious; because he asserts, that it would be extraordinary, if the ministers, here addressed by Ion, did not speak to those, who came to consult the Oracle, propriâ linguâ, in their own native tongue: But the term ἰδίας emphatically alludes to the act of the subordinate priests expounding and decyphering into their proper acceptation the equivocal responses of the Pythian Priests: Thus Brodæus observes, Datum enim oraculum; quod et plurimum obscurum ancepsque erat, explicabant sacerdotes.

## Verse 120. Μυρτίνας· ἱερὰν φόβαν.

The word φόβαν is here governed by τέγγει; so that there is no necessity for the emendation of Heath into φόβα, who asserts it is necessary for the sake of the construction. (Not. in Trag. Græc. p. 135.)

## Verse 138. Τὸν δ' ὠφέλιμον.

The alteration proposed by Dr. Musgrave into τὸ δ' ὠφέλιμον, and his translation of the passage, appears to me far inferior to the obvious acceptation, which implies, that Ion considers his Benefactor Apollo as his Father: And as Φόβαν may refer to πατέρας, I see no absolute necessity for the emendation of Heath into Φοῖβον. (Id. p. 135.)

<sup>1</sup> In Eurip. Annot. p. 101. See also my Preliminary Essay, p. 24.

Verse 166. Παρὰ τε πτέρυγας.

This passage is undoubtedly corrupt, since the sentence obviously requires a verb instead of the preposition παρὰ. It was corrected by Scaliger into *πάργε πτέρυγας* in the sense of *prætervolare*; but Dr. Musgrave questions (and I think with reason) whether this expression would be Greek: He therefore proposes another alteration into *παρὰ σ' agita*, which he builds on the authority of the words σ' <sup>1</sup> σ' in Aristophanes, applied to a Bird; but this I apprehend is not sufficient to establish the compound word *παρὰ σ' agita*, which is nowhere to be found: The Editor in his Supplement <sup>2</sup> seems himself to abandon it, for he suggests another emendation, Ἄ δ' ἄρ' ἔσ' *πέρυγας*, ah, ah, alas plaude: This appears to me equally exceptionable as the former, since neither the word or phrase is proved to admit of this interpretation: The natural reading appears to be Αἰρ' τε πτέρυγας *tolle pennas*, which I offer as my conjecture.

Verse *Eὐναίᾳς*  
172. *καρφηραῖς.*

The common interpretation of this passage translates *εὐναίᾳς* *nidum*, as a substantive, and *καρφηραῖς* as an adjective, implying *ex festucis factum*, or a nest made of pieces of straw. But *εὐναίᾳς*, as synonymous with *ἐνὶ*, has no authority to support it; and it is used, as an adjective, not as a substan-

<sup>1</sup> Aves. v. 574 & 575.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 3. p. 583.

tive, by our Poet in his Hippolytus<sup>1</sup>, *εὐναίαι δέδεσται ψυχρά*, and also in his Iphigenia in Tauris<sup>2</sup> *εὐναίων πηδαλίων*. Hesychius has *καρφυλαί*<sup>3</sup> a substantive, which he defines to be a nest made of dry pieces of wood, and cites the Ion of Euripides for the very word: This at present is no where to be found in this play, and consequently we may fairly presume, that it was the true and original reading in this passage: Hesychius has also another word *καρφύραι*<sup>4</sup>, which he explains to mean the small shoots of branches; and this is a sense extremely adapted to the present occasion: *Εὐναίαις* will then be understood in its proper sense, as an adjective, importing absconditos, or the well-concealed nest under the battlements. Since the above Note was written, I find from Dr. Musgrave's remarks, that Wesselingius, Editor of Diodorus Siculus, has there anticipated the last of these proposed alterations *καρφύρας*; and on a reference to his Note<sup>5</sup> I discover, that Arnaldus<sup>6</sup>, on the same authority of Hesychius, had also substituted in this line of Euripides the former word *καρφυλας*: Consequently both these emendations have been anticipated. Lest the Reader should be surpris'd at this circumstance, it may not perhaps be improper to inform him, that I was naturally induced to consult my Lexicon, observing two adjectives here coupled together, and when I looked for *καρφηράς*, both the other words soon presented themselves to my eye with a sense extremely apposite: On so respectable an authority as that of Hesychius, *καρφυλας* ought to be inserted in the printed editions of our Poet, since it appears to me no longer dubious, but certain.

<sup>1</sup> V. 160,<sup>2</sup> V. 432.

γιγνώσκωνται κοῖται· Εὐριπίδης Ἴωνι.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. 2. p. 105.<sup>3</sup> Καρφυλαί, αἱ ἐκ τῶν ξηρῶν ξύλων<sup>4</sup> Καρφύραι ποσσὶ καὶ δάμιοι.<sup>6</sup> Lect. l. 1. 11. p. 76.

Verse 189. Καλλιέφαρον φῶς.

The original epithet was καλλίφαρον, which was rejected by all the Commentators, as a word of no authority and unintelligible: In its place they have substituted καλλιέφαρον, which Barnes has admitted into the text, and translates it acutum lumen: It properly signifies the ointment for the eyelids in order to render them beautiful, and in this sense is translated by Pliny: But it appears to me in this passage as exceptionable, as the word they have exploded, and introduces an additional syllable into the metre. Dr. Musgrave has proposed to read κάλλει λιπαιρὸν or φιαρὸν φῶς in allusion to the rays of light, reflected from the gilding of the temple: But since the publication of his edition he has thought of another emendation, which I had his consent here to mention: In the preceding line but one he alters γε into με, and instead of καλλίφαρον φῶς he reads Βάλλει λιπαιρὸν φῶς, Dives lux me percutit, or as we say in English, the light strikes me. There can be no doubt of the Latinity of the expression, since we find in Horace,

Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ.

(L. 1. Od. 7. V. 11.)

And for the idiom of it in Greek Dr. Musgrave cites Philostratus<sup>1</sup>, in the life of Apollonius, who speaking of a certain stone says, "if it be seen by day, it strikes the eyes with a

<sup>1</sup> L. 3. c. 46. ed. Olear. p. 133.

great number of coruscations," εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὄρωτο, βάλλει  
τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαῖς. To this authority the fol-  
lowing line of Homer may not improperly be added ;

Ἥλιος μὲν ἐπεῖτα νέον προσέβαλλον αἰθέρας. (V. 421.)

As I have a right to propose my own conjecture, I submit to  
the Reader, whether instead of καλλιφαῖρον we ought not to  
read καλλίναον φῶς pulchrè fluens lumen, the beautiful flow  
of light from the temples or statues : This will exactly cor-  
respond with the original metre, from which all the other  
emendations depart ; and this epithet is used by our Poet in  
his Alceſtis<sup>2</sup> and in his Medea<sup>3</sup>.

Verſe 235. Παλλαῖδος.

This and the following line in the edition of Barnes is  
given to Creuſa inſtead of the Chorus, though he acknow-  
ledges, that at firſt he was of a different opinion ; but he  
conceiv'd from the expreſſion of παρέστας δ' ἀμφὶ τὰς being in  
the plural number, that Ion was referred to the domeſticks  
of Creuſa by her for farther information. I cannot admit  
the inference as neceſſary, becauſe the Chorus might ſpeak  
of their Queen in the plural number, as a mark of additional  
reſpect, of which there are frequent inſtances ; and therefore  
there is no occaſion for the alteration of Reiſke<sup>1</sup> of the words  
into the ſingular ; or perhaps they might allude to Creuſa  
now entering and probably accompanied with a train of  
other Attendants beſides themſelves. The expreſſion alſo of  
τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων, or my Sovereigns, ſeems better adapted to

<sup>2</sup> V. 589.

<sup>3</sup> V. 585.

<sup>1</sup> Anim. in Eurip. p. 146.

the mouth of the Chorus than to that of the royal Creusa ;  
Thus Ion immediately accosts her in the subsequent speech,  
according to this idea : Dr. Musgrave in his edition has given  
these lines to the Chorus, and he mentions the authority of  
one manuscript in support of it.

Verse 265. Πρὸς θεῶν.

Though both the Cambridge and Oxford Editor have annexed the mark of interrogation to the Latin version of this line, yet they have omitted to insert it in the Greek text ; but the sentence obviously requires it, as Heath justly observes.

Verse 271. Νομιζέται.

This word will admit the sense of “ ut recepti moris est, according to the received custom ;” and is thus used by Æschylus <sup>1</sup> and Aristophanes <sup>2</sup>. I mention this circumstance, because Dr. Musgrave asserts, that he does not rightly comprehend it, and has therefore proposed a very unnecessary emendation of *νόμιζέται*.

Verse 286. Τί μοι.

As the first syllable in *τιμᾶ* is always long, it constitutes a spondee in the second foot, which is inadmissible in the

<sup>1</sup> Eum. v. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Plutus, v. 625.

Iambick measure: To remedy this essential defect of metre, Scaliger proposed to read in this passage τί μοι; but Dr. Musgrave just before his death informed me, that in order to prevent the open vowel he proposed to insert τί μοι γ'. Since this is omitted in his edition, I have here mentioned it.

Verse 324. Τάλαυνά σ' ἢ τεκῶσ', ἢ τίς ποτ' ἦν ἄρα.

Here again the metre is defective from the spondee in the fourth foot of the Iambick verse: Both Heath and Musgrave have passed it over in silence; but Barnes in his Note has mentioned the transposition of the words proposed by Scaliger, Τάλαυνά γ' ἄρα σ' ἢ τεκῶσ' ἢ τίς ποτ' ἦν. There is a much easier amendment, which obviously presents itself, and I am surprized that it has escaped the Commentators: Instead of τεκῶσ' ἢ τίς why should we not read τεκῶσα τίς?

Verse 337. Ἄρα.

As the sentence does not demand an interrogation, this word is erroneously circumflexed in the edition of Barnes: It is rightly printed in that of Musgrave; but he omits to mention the alteration.

Verse 396. Διακονῶσα.

The authority of Sophocles, where Διακονεῖσθαι begins an Iambick verse in his Philoctetes<sup>1</sup>, may be here added to that

<sup>1</sup> V. 290.

testimony of Διάκονος in the Cyclops.<sup>2</sup> of our Poet, mentioned by Canter, Barnes, and Musgrave, in support of the metre of the second syllable as long.

Verse 411. Συμβόλαια.

The Poet delicately alludes by this expression to the matrimonial connexion of Xuthus and Creusa, and not to their former commerce with Trophonius, as Heath<sup>3</sup> understands it.

Verse 500. Ὅταν αὐλείῃς. Ὕμνων

I see no necessity for this emendation of Scaliger, inserted into the text of the Cambridge Editor, when the original reading was αὐλείῃς. Aristophanes alludes to this cave of Pan at Athens, and uses the very word αὐλίον.

Ἡ τῷ Πανὸς ἐστὶ τ' αὐλίον. (Lyfist. v. 722.)

Instead of the substantive Ὕμνων, Reiske<sup>4</sup> ingeniously proposes to read ὕμνων the participle.

Verse 529. Οὐ τρέχων ὁ μῦθος.

The sense of this line, as printed in the different editions of Barnes and Musgrave, is very different: The former by annexing the mark of interrogation at the end has given a

<sup>2</sup> V. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Not. in Trag. p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Animad. ad Eurip. p. 149.



mit whether we ought not to read *παράφορον*, which has the sanction of Euripides in his *Hecuba*, *παράφορον ποδὶ* <sup>7</sup>: This is there explained by the Scholiast, *παράφερομένῳ ἃ ἐκ ὀρθῶς βαιδίζοντι*, in allusion to the uncertainty of the step: This idea would exactly correspond with the necessary sense required in this passage: And it is remarkable, that *παράφερῇ* was in the margin of Scaliger's and Heinsius's book; as we are informed by the Cambridge Editor; but Heath <sup>8</sup> justly observes, that there is no such word: He explains however *περιφερῇ*, quicquid autem rotundum est, ascensu etiam arduum est: Perhaps it may be justified, as the wandering step, since Hesychius defines *περιφέρομαι* by *πλανᾶται*.

Verse 883. *Κέρασιν.*

Brodæus <sup>1</sup> translates the word by *nervis* or the strings; and Heath <sup>2</sup> supposes that it may allude to the plectrum or bow: but Julius Pollux <sup>3</sup>, enumerating the distinct parts of instruments, mentions the *νευραὶ*, *κέρατα*, *πλῆκτρον*, as different: These Criticks are therefore mistaken: The true sense is well explained in the Note of Dr. Musgrave.

Verse 1109. *Εὐνδαλε.*

This word is erroneously printed both in the editions of Barnes and Musgrave: It ought to be *σύνδαλε*.

<sup>7</sup> V. 1050.

<sup>8</sup> Not. in Ion, p. 138.

<sup>1</sup> In Ion. Annot. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Not. in Ion, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> L. 4. c. 9. sec. 62.

Verse 1416. Ἡ τόλμαι γε σὺ.

The last syllable of τόλμαι in this line must consistently with the metre be considered as long, as constituting a Spondee, and not a Trochee: Yet in this very play, it occurs in another line, where the Iambick measure in the second foot absolutely requires it to be short,

Ἡ τόλμαι πᾶσ' ἐνεσιν. (V. 1264.)

This is the true metre, and therefore in the present line there is an essential defect, which no Editor or Commentator to my knowledge has remarked: It may easily be corrected, by changing only the order of two words, and by reading,

Ἡ γε τόλμαι σὺ.

Verse 1424. Ἰδὲ τὸδ' ἔσθ' ὑφάσμαι, θέσφαθ' ὡς εὐρίσκομεν.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin version of θέσφαθ', in the edition of Barnes, is rendered by fatalia; and by Heath 'quasi divinitus dicta essent: Neither of these senses connects well with the preceding ὑφάσμαι, and Dr. Musgrave observes, that in one Manuscript there were traces of the letter μ: He therefore substitutes δέσμαι θ': But I would rather read σέμμαθ', which is the very word before used by Creusa in a former line of this scene, and applied to the same subject,

ὦ σέμμαθ' ἱσθαι. (V. 1389.)

<sup>1</sup> Not. in Ion, p. 142.

There is the following observation in the margin of that Euripides, used by Milton, relative to this and the preceding line: "Καὶ κρησπεδῶ τὰτ', supple ὕφασμα, quod in versum sequentem ex margine irrepsit, cum melius abesset, sic enim metrum erit integrum, Ἰδὲ τῶ ἐστ'."

DRAMATICK

ac HNL



